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ABSTRACT

This document presents curriculum projects and papers written by U.S. teachers who traveled to countries in Southern Africa in the summer of 1991 as part of the Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminars Abroad Program. The included projects and papers are: "Through a Glass Darkly: The Enigmatic Educational System of Botswana" (Alan C. Howard); "Creating Student Experiences in International Management: The Botswana Experience" (Deborah Namm); "The Economics of African Literature: Cultural Disparity" (Claire N. Robin); "African and African-American Dance: An Unbroken Chain of Cultural Unity" (Cynthia S. West); "Curriculum Project Southern Africa: A Unit for Eighth Grade English and Social Studies" (Leslie J. Altman); "Politics and Economic Change in Southern Africa: A Contemporary Perspective" (Oscar T. Brookins); "Curriculum Project: 7th Grade World Cultures Course, S. Africa: Zimbabwe, Botswana and Malawi" (Joyce H. Millman); "Curriculum Project: Women and Traditional Southern Africa Art Forms" (Dorothy Ann Sauber); "The Challenges of Educational Change: Zimbabwe and Botswana" (Donald Schilling); "Literature from Botswana and Zimbabwe" (Curtis H. Smith); "Archaeology and African Nationalism: The Great Zimbabwe Ruins" (Donald L. Smith); "The Legal Status of Women in Botswana" (Sharon L. Tucker); "Impact of Economic and Social Development on the Roles of Women: Zimbabwe and Botswana" (Mary P. Van Hook); "Curriculum Project: Post-World War II African History Section" (Ralph Dix Van Inwagen); and "Rising Expectations: Perspectives on Challenges to Adult Education in Three Southern African Countries; Zimbabwe, Botswana and Malawi" (Ira J. Winn). (DB)

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"SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA"
Summer 1991

FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINARS ABROAD PROGRAM
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FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINAR 1991

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Leslie J. Altman
St. Sebastian's Country Day School

Southern Africa: A Unit for Eighth Grade English and Social Studies

Social Studies Text: Melvin Schwartz and John R. O'Connor, eds., Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe Book Co., c 1988. Text is used as basis for unit outline.

Unit 5: Africa South of the Sahara

Africa: The Giant Continent

Use pre-test (attached) to elicit stereotypes of Africa

Use "Would You Believe?" (attached) to illustrate size of Africa

The Land and the Climate

Use photographs of Kalahari, Victoria Falls, Lake Malawi, Zomba Plateau (xeroxed photographs attached)

Europeans Reach Africa

Reading: **Buchi Emecheta, The Moonlight Bride** (novella)

Chinua Achebe, Things Fall

Apart (selections from the novel)

The African World

Use photographs of Great Zimbabwe, Harare, Gabarone (xeroxed photographs attached)

Reading: **African Short Stories, ed. Chinua Achebe and C. L. Innes** (selections)

The Rain-Forest Farmer

The Savanna Farmer and Herder

Africa's Resources

From Colonies to Free Countries

Use film: "The Kitchen Toto," about Kenyan struggle for independence and its fatal effects on a young boy

Reading: **Paul Theroux, "White Lies"** (short story)

Developing Africa

Republic of South Africa

Reading: **Dalene Matthee, Fiela's Child** (novel)

Nigeria

Reading: **Emecheta, The Wrestling Match** (novella)

Botswana

Reading: **Bessie Head, The Collector of Treasures** (short story selections)

Zimbabwe

Reading: **Charles Mungoshi, The Setting Sun and the Rolling World** (short story selections)

Syllabus for "Modern Literary Classics from around the World," Senior
Elective, Fall and Spring, 1991-1992

Required texts:

Okot p'Bitek, The Song of Lawino and The Song of Ocol (Uganda)
Buchi Emecheta, The Joys of Motherhood (Nigeria)
Derek Walcott, Pantomime (Trinidad)
Jamaica Kincaid, Annie John (Antigua)
Thomas Keneally, The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith (Australia)
Keri Hulme, The Bone People (New Zealand)
Maxine Hong Kingston, Woman Warrior (U. S. A.)
Lame Deer and Richard Erdoes, Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions (U. S. A.)
Rodolfo Anaya, Bless Me, Ultima (U. S. A.)

Films:

The Kitchen Toto (Kenya)
Sugar Cane Alley (Martinique)
Utu (New Zealand)

Course Requirements:

In addition to the required reading, each student will read on his own another work from one of the areas studied, to be chosen in consultation with the teacher. A presentation on this book will be given by the student during the third quarter.

There will be short papers, in-class essays, and a longer paper due each quarter. There may be reading quizzes. There will be a semester exam in January. An examination may be given in April.

Further Readings from Africa:

(All citations are to novels, unless otherwise indicated)

Chinua Achebe (Nigeria), Hopes and Impediments (essays)
Things Fall Apart
No Longer at Ease
Anthills of the Savannah

Mariama Ba (Senegal), So Long a Letter (epistolary novel, translated from French)

Stephen Chifunyise (Zimbabwe), Medicine for Love and Other Plays (plays, most on the subject of relationships between men and women)

Shimmer Chinodya (Zimbabwe), Dew in the Morning (growing up in rural Zimbabwe in the 60s and 70s)
Crown of Thorns (set against the war for independence)

Tsitsi Dangarembga (Zimbabwe), Nervous Conditions

Bessie Head (Botswana), Maru
A Question of Power
The Collector of Treasures (short stories)

Chenjerai (Christopher) Hove (Zimbabwe), Bones (prose poem)

Aubrey Kachingwe (Malawi), No Easy Task

Legson Kayira (Malawi), The Looming Shadow

Dambudzo Marechera (Zimbabwe), The House of Hunger, (novella and short stories)
Black Sunlight

Charles Mungoshi (Zimbabwe), The Setting Sun and the Rolling World (short stories)
Waiting for the Rain

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (Kenya), Decolonizing the Mind (essays)
Weep Not, Child

Nkem Nwankwo (Nigeria), My Mercedes is Bigger than Yours (satire)

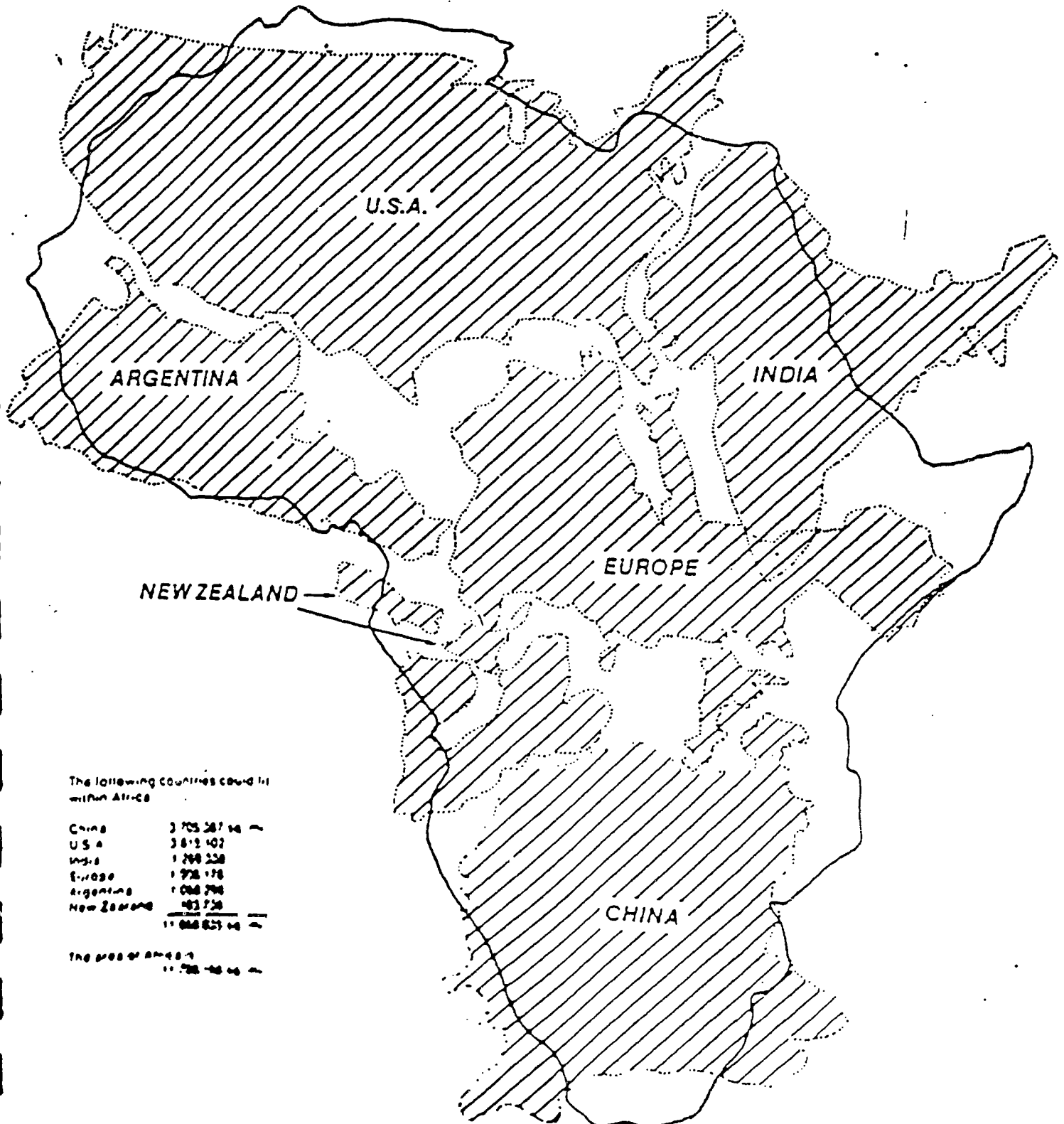
Stanley Nyamfukudza (Zimbabwe), The Non-Believer's Journey (set against the war for independence)

Sol Plaatje (South Africa), Mhudi (historical novel, "first novel published [in 1930] by a black writer from South Africa")

Stanlake Samkange (Zimbabwe), Year of the Uprising

Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Ake (autobiography)
Collected Plays

WOULD YOU BELIEVE?



The following countries could fit within Africa

China	3 705 267 sq. mi.
U.S.A.	3 612 102
India	1 268 230
Europe	1 978 178
Argentina	1 068 798
New Zealand	182 720
	<hr/> 11 048 825 sq. mi.

The area of Africa is
11 700 000 sq. mi.

When I think about Africa, I think about:

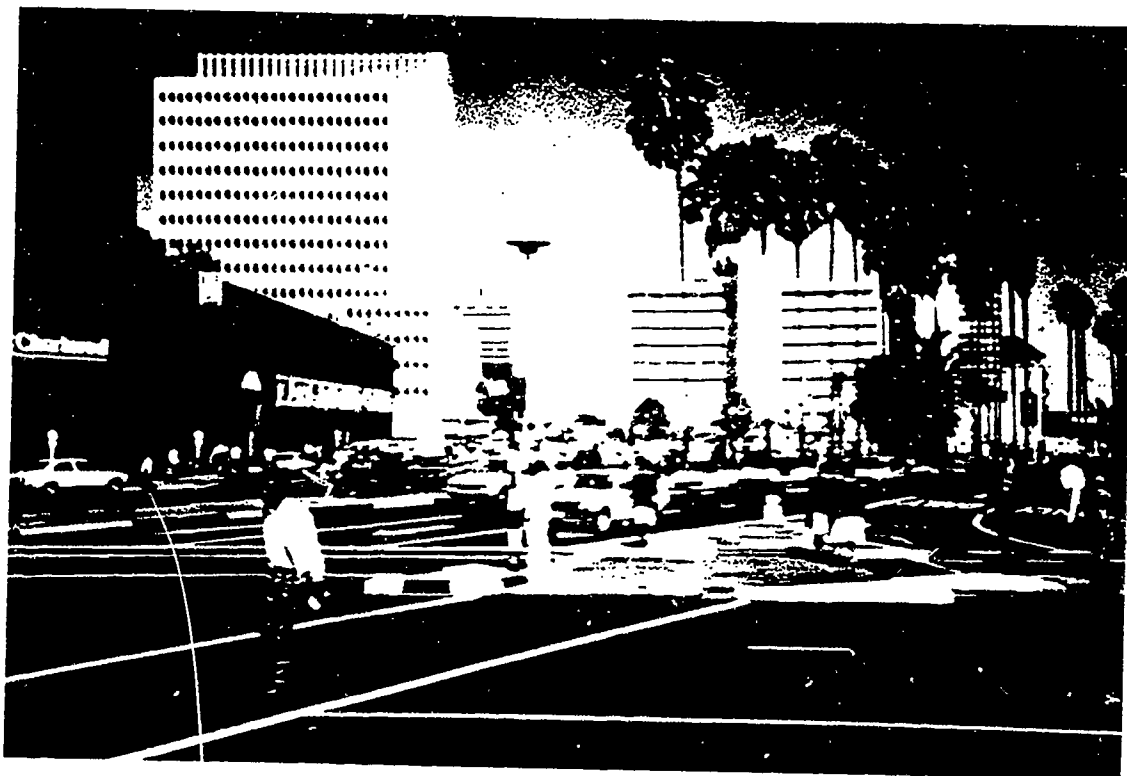
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

1. Africa is (a) a country (b) a continent (c) a state (d) part of Asia.
2. There are how many countries in Africa? (a) 1 (b) 54 (c) 36
(d) 106 (e) 75
3. There are how many native languages in Africa? (a) 10 (b) 8 (c) 54
(d) 106 (e) 3000
4. Which of the following is not an African nation? (a) Senegal (b) Egypt
(c) Turkey (d) Zaire (e) Benin
5. Which of the following could fit into Africa? (a) U.S.A. (b) China
(c) India (d) Europe (e) All of these
(f) None of these
6. Most of the chocolate imported to the United States comes from (a) Brazil
(b) Switzerland (c) Ghana & Ivory Coast (d) Hershey, PA
(e) None of these (f) the Easter bunny (g) all of these
7. The most important export product of Senegal is (a) slaves (b) cotton
(c) ivory (d) peanuts (e) oil (f) zoo animals
8. The main mode of transportation in Africa is (a) the camel (b) the elephant
(c) the car (d) the bicycle (e) the feet.
9. The climate of Africa is (a) tropical (b) desert (c) temperate
(d) frigid (e) all of these (f) none of these.
10. All Africans (a) wear war paint (b) are black (c) are polygamists
(marry more than one person) (d) live in grass huts
(e) all of these (f) none of these

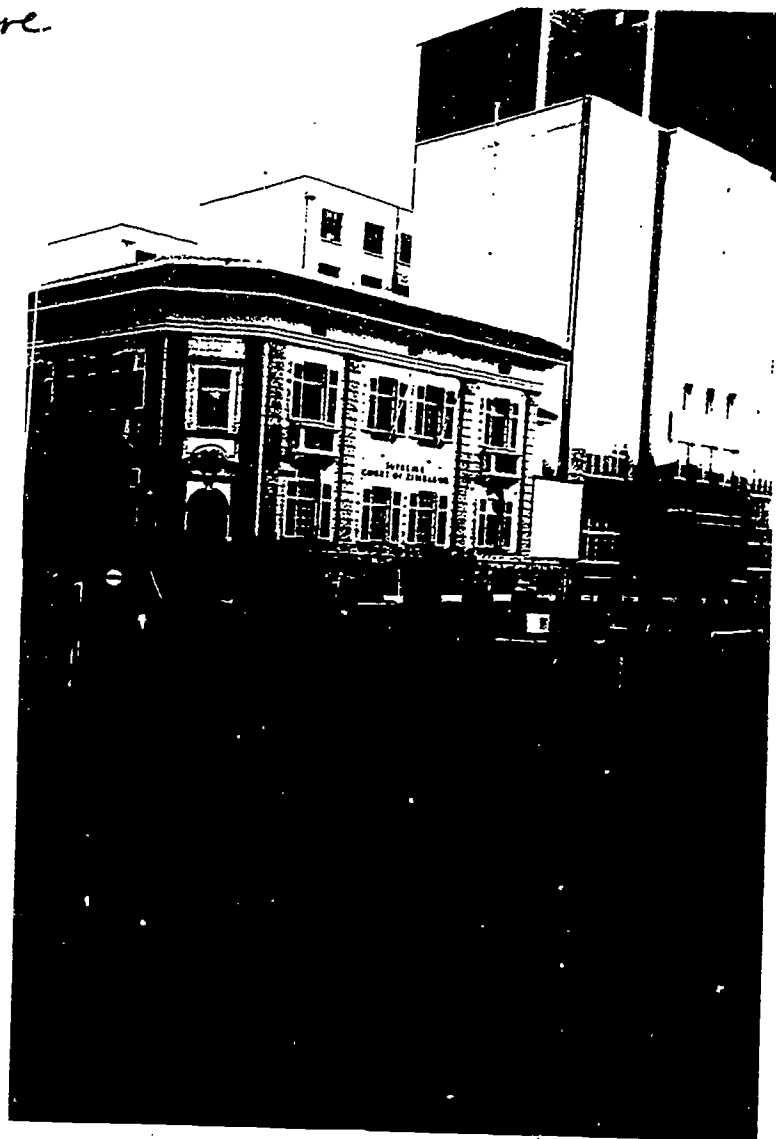
This test is designed to test your knowledge of basic facts about Africa. You will be able to score your responses in a brief way after the test and more in detail as we proceed with the course.

True or False

1. ____ Africa is a country.
2. ____ The people of Africa generally have the same physical features.
3. ____ Most of Africa is covered in thick jungles.
4. ____ African people speak one and the same language.
5. ____ Modern cities are not common to Africa.
6. ____ Africa is three times as large as the United States in area.
7. ____ Eleven percent of the world population live in Africa.
8. ____ Almost all the diamonds coming into the U.S. come from Africa.
9. ____ South Africa has democracy as its form of Government.
10. ____ Evidence show that the earliest humans lived in Africa.
11. ____ Africa's climate is remarkable for its constant hot, humid and damp conditions.
12. ____ Before the Europeans invaded Africa in the late 1800's, there was no form of serious civilization there.
13. ____ The slave trade in Africa was carried out totally by the white man.
14. ____ Christainty is the only religion that has had substantial influence on Africa.
15. ____ Apartheid is a city in South Africa.
16. ____ French, English, Portuguese, German, and Dutch are European languages that are spoken by some African today.
17. ____ Both Ghana and Mali were two of many ancient empires which existed long before the European invasion of the 1800's.
18. ____ Many Africanstoday object to the use of the word tribe to define themselves.
19. ____ There are over fifty countries in Africa today.
20. ____ Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Algeria and Sudan are all located in Africa.



Harare



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Harare, Zimbabwe

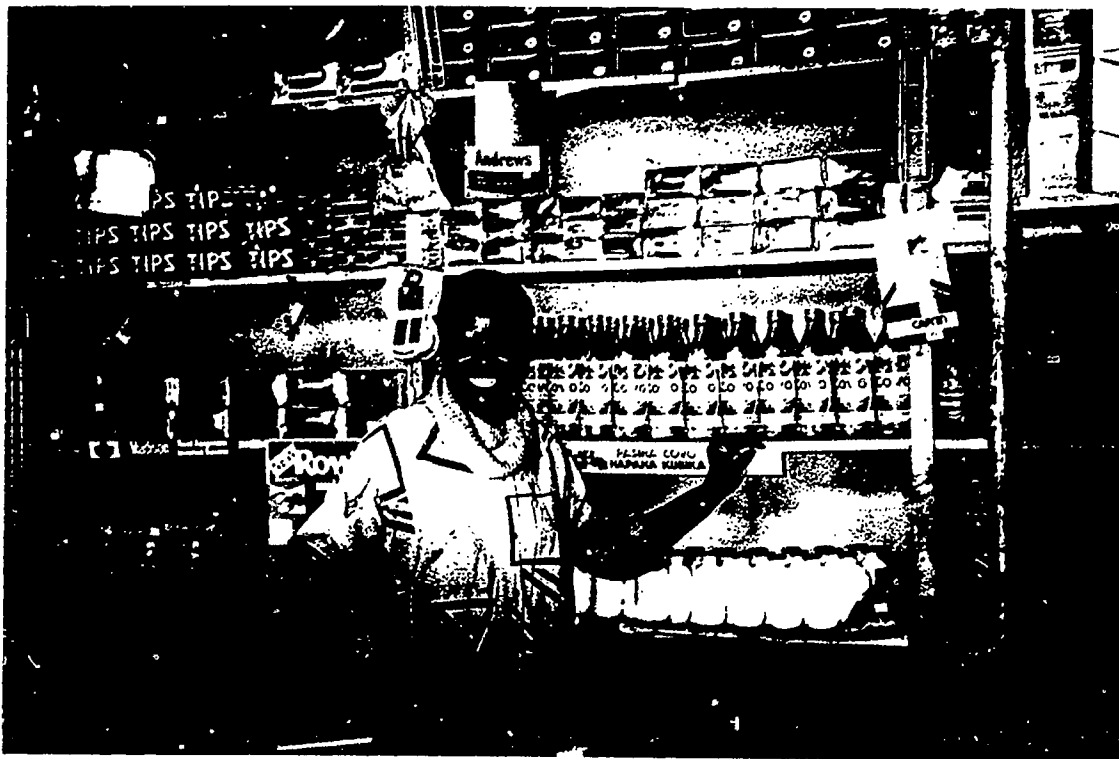


Village, Zimbabwe

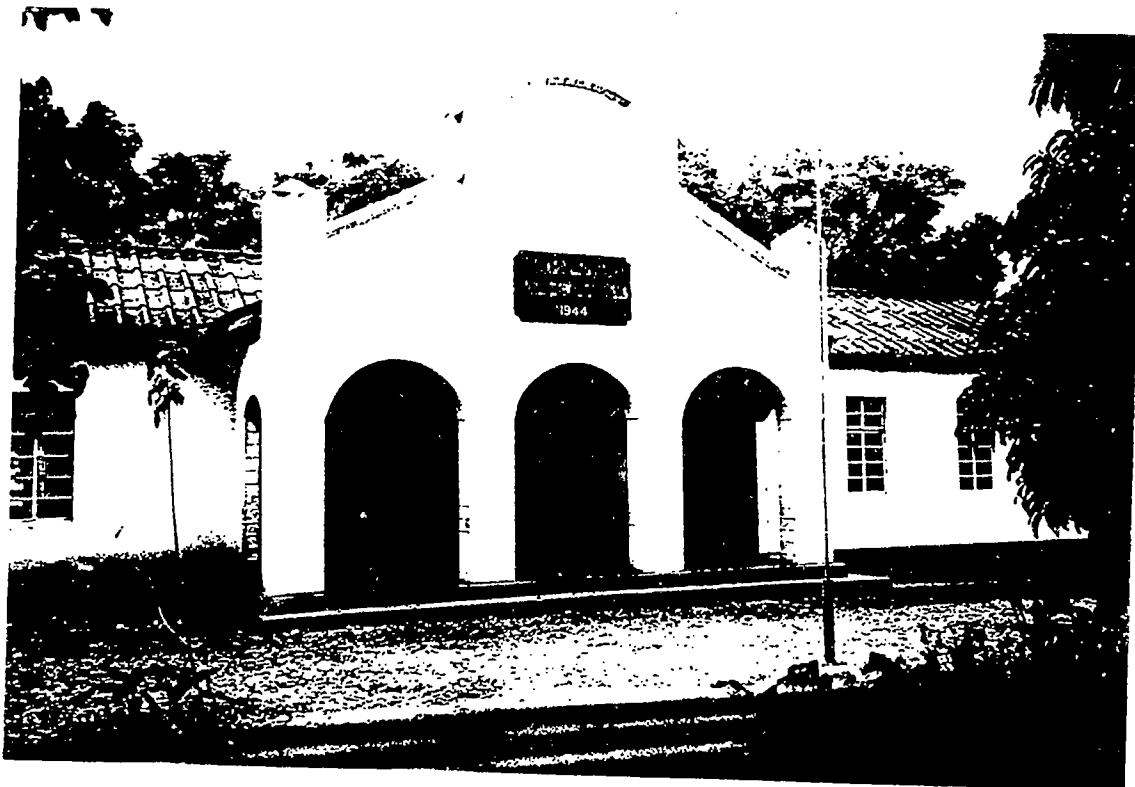
BUS STOP



Cotton field, Zimbabwe



Bottle store, Zimbabwe



Mission school, Zimbabwe



Great Zimbabwe



Clear-cutting, Mutare



Victoria Falls



Chobe, Botswana

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Pau, Kalahari



Kgotla, Maon

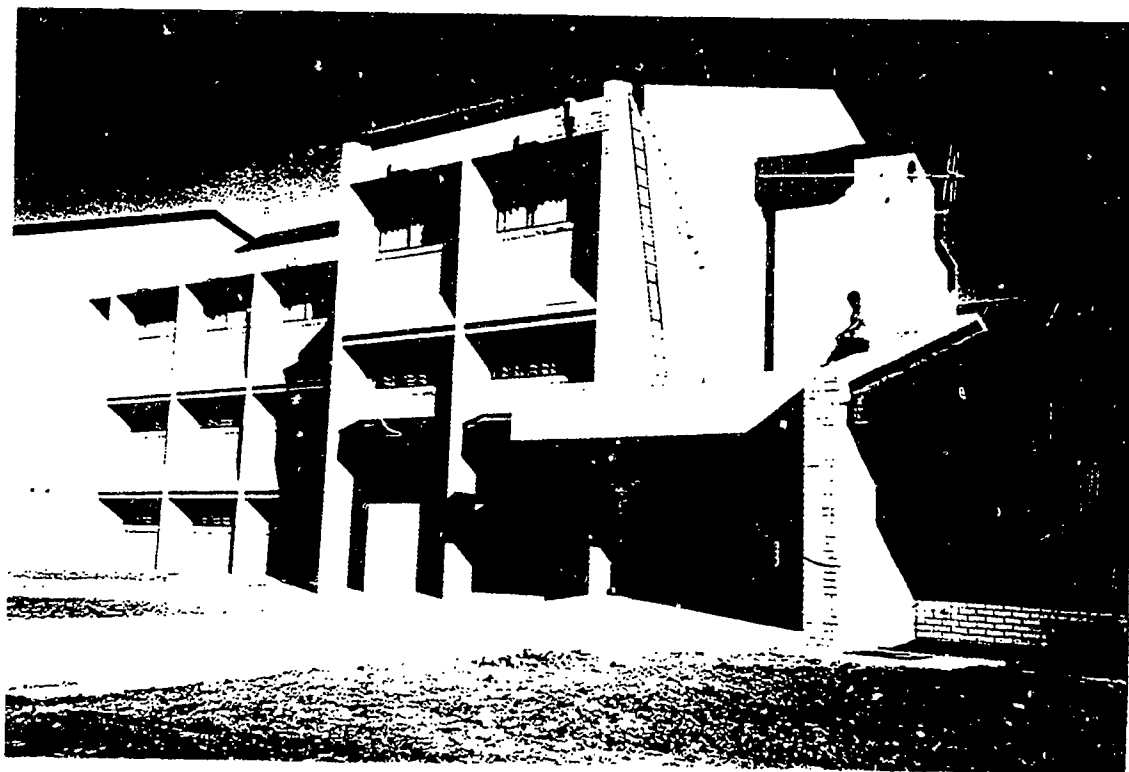


Mawn



Okavango Delta 18

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Dormitory; UB, Gabarone



President Hotel, Gabarone



Rondavel w/ solar panel



Rondavel, Botswana²⁰

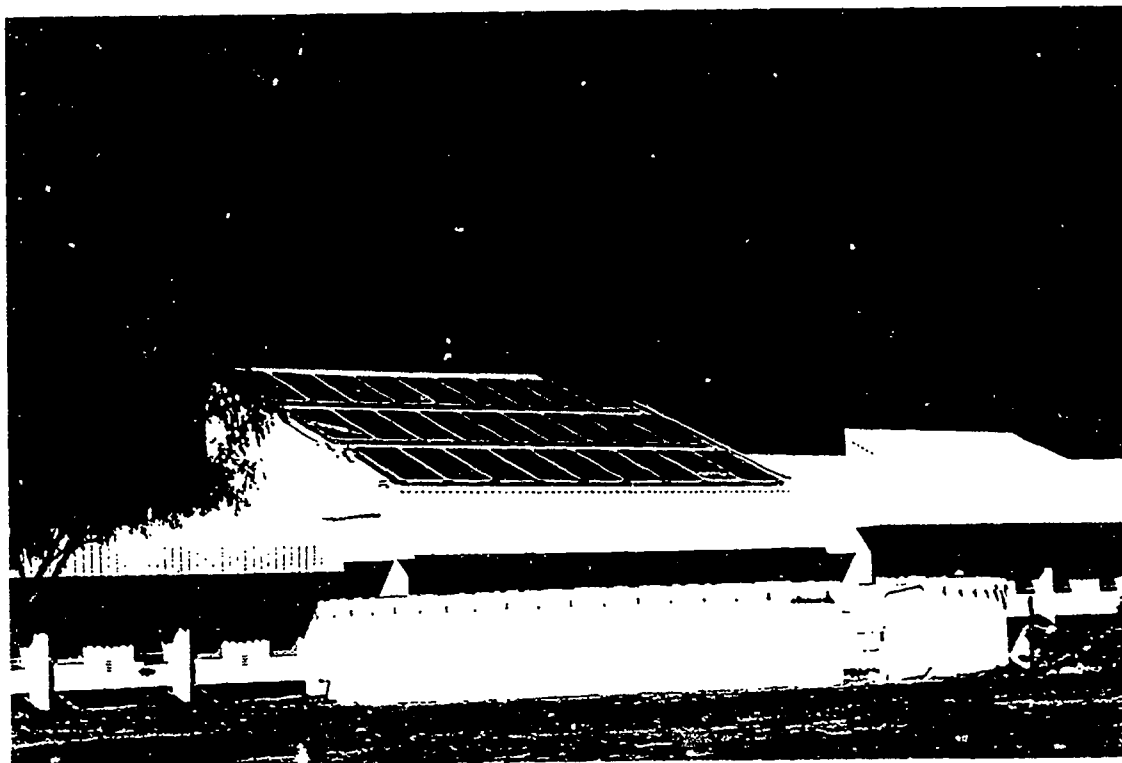


U. Botswana



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SADCC Building, Gabarone



Solar panels, Botswana



Suburban house, Malawi



Zomba Plateau



Zomba Plateau, Malawi

Report Summary

Oscar T. Brookins, Northeastern University

I participated in a six-week Seminar/Study Tour conducted in three nations of Southern Africa, Botswana, Malawi, and Zimbabwe. This seminar was one of several financed and carried out by the U.S. Department of Education as part of its mandate under the terms of the Fulbright-Hays Act. The Institute of International Education managed the seminar under contract with the Department of Education.

The primary purpose of the "Seminar Abroad Program: Southern Africa" was to provide participants with direct experience in and observation of these nations and societies of Southern Africa. Following a brief orientation of one and one-half days in Washington, D. C. the group of nineteen (19) with its leader departed for Africa via England. The nineteen (19) were selected from an applicant pool of some ninety (90) on a competitive proposal basis. The group was comprised of secondary school, community college, and university instructors of social sciences and humanities.

A second major objective of the Seminar was to provide experiences, observations, contacts and primary materials at a level to enable participants to return to their teaching posts and introduce information and materials gathered in Southern Africa into their curricula. Such curricula changes may reflect the several disciplines represented in the group and may take the form of new and revised materials and insights derived from participation and discussion with others.

A further objective was to allow secondary and collegiate teachers from different disciplines and regions to have a forum and basis for sharing ideas on issues relevant to the economic and social changes facing and likely to face Southern Africa an opportunity to discuss how these and related issues might best be introduced into curricula in America.

Each participant is to file an account and report of individual projects with the Institute and Department of Education by October 18, 1991. These reports will be combined into a volume and then will be filed with ERIC to provide future educators with indications of the outcome of the seminar and the activities of the participants.

The seminar itself was comprised of varied activities; most organized as group activities and a few at the initiative of individuals. The one and one-half day orientation program in Washington included lecture/discussions on the general mission of the Fulbright-Hays Seminar Abroad program, objectives of the Department of Education in its sponsorship of international programs, and some specific details of expectations for the Southern Africa seminar. Persons with direct knowledge of and experiences in Southern Africa held discussions with us regarding the host nations and the region. The orientation also included social times designed to permit the members of the group to become acquainted with each other as well as to enable ambassadorial personnel an occasion to meet the group and its leader.

Once we arrived in the region we received formal lectures from locally based scholars and officials and held discussions with

educators and governmental officials and U.S. representatives stationed in the region. These sessions were lively and informative. Lectures identified local issues on the theme of social and economic changes and also presented us with pertinent historical accounts and cultural backgrounds of the region and nations. Discussions and debates following lectures developed ideas reflecting internal and local perspectives as well as external views of the problems and prospects for the region.

My Activities. My primary interest in participating in the Southern African Seminar Abroad was to renew my contacts in Africa and begin developing additional expertise in this specific region to facilitate development of a course in the political economy of the region to be offered to nonspecialist, undergraduates through the Department of Economics at Northeastern University where I currently teach. I had had prior experience in West and East Africa and wished to round out that and to commence and understanding of the Southern region.

As an economist a primary concern I have had is to understand the inherent differences between the several geographical regions of the continent and thereby get a clearer understanding of the specific advantages and difficulties regions and nations face in the process of their undergoing massive changes being wrought through the political, economic and sociologic changes engendered via modernization and general material progress. The successful transformation of the sparsely populated agricultural regions of Southern Africa will depend upon how well the diverse racial and ethnic groups can develop modes and institutions capable of accounting for the the several groups' special interests while at the same time making cooperataion and nation-

buliding possible.

My visit has enabled me to begin developing a broader understanding of the changes and the context of the changes which Southern Africa is undergoing. My previous knowledge and experience in Africa enabled me to become familiar with the features of the region to an extent sufficient and clear enough that I have begun structuring an undergraduate course on the economics of sub-Sahara, with a comparative perspective that highlights Southern Africa. In developing this course it is important that it not become another one on South Africa, for there already exist a number of courses in our university.

Certainly South Africa is vital to the region and an adequate treatment of it in an academic course is essential to understanding the region; on the other hand it is perhaps axiomatic that the prospects for the region depend crucially upon states other than South Africa hereself. For if for no other reason than that the ability of this region to achieve adequate development requires the other states make substantial headway because South Africa is in a number of material ways well ahead of the rest.

In preparation for the the development of the course I proposed I chose the seminar; however, it soon became clear that given the time and structural constraints imposed by the logistics of a traveling seminar and the demands imposed by our having determined that we were going to function as a group rather than a collection of individual educators in a group the

experience itself would ill afford one to develop a reasonable course or materials while the program went on. Once this became clear I fixed on the strategy of seeing as much as possible of the societies visited and relying on current, journalistic materials to aid in developing a perspective of these nations and their peoples. Therefore, during my stay I made it a point of purchasing and reading as many magazines and newspapers written in and about the region as were available. Visits to the library were out of the question due to there not being sufficient time free from activities organized for the group during libraries' opening hours.

In order to facilitate learning and developing new ideas I joined with two other participants, Mrs. Joyce Millman and Mrs. Claire Robin, both secondary teachers, to create an informal discussion group wherein we shared journals purchased and held brainstorming sessions to reach fuller understanding of the issues dealt with in the periodicals as well as those introduced in the several lectures. We were thereby able to enhance our knowledge and understanding beyond that possible if we had been acting alone. In this process we were also able to learn more about the general problems of educators in the U.S. as well.

The particular experiences we had on tour were, of course subject of discussions we held. Radio broadcasts were another source of ideas and knowledge. We made contact with the Southern African Literature Society (SALS) in Botswana and took out memberships and acquired copies of their extensive catalog of regional materials so that we can remain abreast of new materials as they become available.

The outline which follows below is a rather preliminary one and serves only as a starting point for developing a viable, complete course proposal for implementation. Since we do not currently have a course in economics covering Africa per se but rather development courses that may from time to time include materials on Africa as the instructors see fit there will be a need to give some general background coverage to the economic issues in contemporary as well as historic Africa. :

Title: Politics and Economic Change in Southern Africa:
Contemporary Perspective

General Description: A selective and comparative survey of the economic and social development in Southern Africa, this course will focus on the several nations and societies of this region in an attempt to give students a fuller appreciation of the nature and substance of economic developments taking place within this sub-continent. Given the histories of the several colonial and post-independent countries which have been involved in the region a comparative approach to the study is deemed essential. No prior economics background will be presumed and the dominant techniques used will be verbal description and analysis. The historical period covered will include late colonial, revolution, and post-independent eras. The role of nations other than the Republic of South Africa will receive particular attention. The interplay of politics, economics, geography, and ethnicity in shaping the modernization of the region will be studied. Classes will be lectures supplemented with discussions.

Topics:

I. Historical Background to Region

- a) Pre-European
- b) Colonization
- c) Self-Government and Revolution
- d) Independence

II. Economic Structure of the Region

- a) Description of Region's Economies
- b) The Role of Agriculture
- c) Mining and Modernization
- d) Traditional Sectors
- e) Contrasting Economies and Trade

III. Cultural and Physical Geography

- a) The Peoples and Population Pressures
- b) Climate and Geologic Forms
- c) The Role and Significance of Apartheid

IV. The Political Factor

- a) Internal Political Constraints
- b) International Relations and Sanctions
- c) The Frontline States and Ideology

V. The Land Question and Democracy in the Economy

- a) The Nature and Distribution of Land
- b) Density, Urbanization and Growth
- c) Revolution, Dislocation and Land

VI. Prospects for A Post-Apartheid Region

- a) The Extent and Costs of Apartheid
- b) Economic Balance under Apartheid
- c) Transformation and International Aid

Economic Issues Tentative Regional Research Areas. In addition to beginning to develop the above preliminary course proposal as a result of my participation in the Southern Africa Seminar, I have also made some observations regarding the general economic conditions and prospects for development that I hope to be able to use in forming a research agenda on the region.

Perhaps the most apparent economic issue which unifies the region in some economic sense is the commonality that for lack of a better term one can call "The Land Question." Now the land issue is at once quite different from its manifestation in several other parts of Africa. For one thing, except for Malawi, the nations do not have inordinately high absolute population densities. For another the region has a large proportion of its land held in some freehold system rather than in communal tenure arrangements. The density in Malawi has been historically high, but recently made much higher because of refugees from

Mozambique; a staggering 12% increase in population has come from people seeking refuge in the country. This magnitude of sudden increase has placed a tremendous strain on all systems and resources in what has been for some time a rather poor nation. At one time or another each of the other nations has had to contend with refugees or dislocations caused by war and political unrest within and outside their borders. The nature of these dislocations in the economies are such that residents pay a heavy toll in foregone production engendered by the actual and potential disruptions which political instabilities bring.

Exacerbating the land issue in Zimbabwe and Botswana, one must acknowledge, are questions of cropping systems as well as racial patterns of tenure. In these nations one finds modern large-scale farms predominantly in the hands of whites, nationals and expatriates. On the other hand black Africans are found on marginal lands engaged in predominantly subsistence agricultural activities. This disparity in land ownership patterns is clearly a political problem which carries significant negative economic implications for productivity now and for future stability as well. It is especially problematic in Zimbabwe because the military-won liberation which dislodged white rule was in some large measure conducted with redistribution of wealth and land as a promised fruit of success; for now that proffered benefit is not forthcoming.

Among related issues is the rapid population growth, approaching 3.5% in all three nations as an average and thereby placing severe strains on the economic resources. This growth was clearly manifested throughout our travels and evident in all the educational institutions we visited. The rapid growths of popu-

lation have also materialized in strains on the social infrastructure (including demands for primary education) and in rapid expansion of the urban areas with attendant stresses in the construction industries as attempts to provide adequate housing are made. Unfortunately the Malthusian specter of diseases acting as checks of too rapid growth of population has raised its head in the form of AIDS and the HIV virus. The segment of population most adversely affected continues to be the younger members of society, thereby further increasing the dependency ratios.

Yet another pressure on the lands is the tourist industry which requires large unspoilt areas to preserve the animal herds which are the basis of the trade. Aside from the lands used in this manner not being available for cropping the fact that the tourists are foreign and white pose a particularly delicate matter. The delicateness probably cannot be overstated because the influences of the South Africans are ubiquitous. The need to develop foreign exchange sources is acknowledged, so the nations are not really in a position to either ignore the ramifications or avoid developing tourism.

In Botswana the land issue also poses problems for the traditional land owners, the San and others, who face the additional threat of losing their ways of life as the lands are expropriated by government in its attempt to modernize and develop economically.

There is an apparent need for investment which will need to come from overseas, but so long as the region is destabilized politically the levels and kinds are not likely to be forthcoming. Partly in response to this concern the regional states have joined together to form a coordinating commission whose re-

sponsibility is to assure duplicate investment undertakings as avoided. The Southern African Development Coordinating Commission (SADCC) has been trying to create the appropriate atmosphere to attract investments to the region and thereby develop alternative sources to South Africa. A big question hangs over what the future of this agency will be upon the establishment of majority rule and the cessation of hostilities in South Africa. There will be a need to accommodate her at that time for she is the largest economic player in the region and it is highly improbable that the other states can develop ignoring her.

In addition to these and related issues I am also interested in how the current wave of democratization and establishment of multiparty politics in the rest of the world will come to bear on the region. All three states are subject to having their political systems drastically altered by such changes and those will affect the economic systems as well.

It is along these above referenced lines that I shall seek to develop a research agenda on Southern Africa over the next several years. I have already begun by having a student developing detailed economic profiles of the three economies as a preliminary exercise. My original intention to visit the region although my preliminary explorations while there have shown some possibilities of reaching fruition.

The bibliography below reflects the reading which I and my two cohorts were able to read on the region.

A Selective Bibliography of Nontechnical Sources

Books:

Frontline Africa: The Right to a Future by Susanna Smith, Oxford: Oxfam, 1990.

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Through a Glass Darkly:
The Enigmatic Educational
System of Botswana

It is a commonplace among travelers that a Third World country is a land of contrasts. Whether one journeys in Mexico or Morocco, one finds the most egregious disparities between the affluent and the poor, the traditional and the modern, and the expected and the unanticipated. In Botswana, the subject of our enquiry, instances of contrast abound. In Gaborone, the capital, starving beggars ply their trade outside the splendorous doors of the posh President Hotel. In Francistown, the nation's second-largest metropolis, a Mercedes-Benz dealership sits amidst the squalid hovels of a high-density suburb. And in the village of Mochudi, among other places, a space-age solar collector stands connected to a hut designed in an era of prehistory. In all these cases, ironies overwhelm the senses.

As might be expected, these aforementioned contrasts permeate every aspect of society, in particular the educational system. Seen through one set of spectacles, the system has made great progress for a people that just recently stood in the vestibule of civilization. Looked at another way, it is woefully inadequate. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine the Botswana educational system in an attempt to determine its true worth.

As with any other analysis, the best way to proceed, this writer believes, is to scrutinize the system in the light of its

development, and to do that we must go back to the mists of the past.

The area we now call Botswana was known to be inhabited several centuries before Christ (Facts 9). The San people lived harmoniously in the arid Kalahari Desert (Facts 9), having migrated from the north, whereas the Batswana, whom we associate with this area, occupied the South African high veld (Godla). However, they were driven north to the Kalahari by the Zulu King Shaka and later by the Afrikaners who fled the depredations of British imperialism in the Boer Trek of the 1830's (Godla).

At this time the Batswana were not educated in any modern sense. For instance, Hilda Lea reports that, at this stage in history, the Batswana were only concerned with daily life problems and were incapable of abstract thought. Their mathematical acumen differed little from that of their ancestors. They knew no calendar and were unable to calculate a person's age. Moreover, they had no idea of multiplication or division and did not comprehend the concept of weight (38-41). In short, they were not a developed people in the Western sense.

All of this changed, however, with the coming of the British. Missionaries, associated with David Livingstone and the London Missionary Society, arrived in the Nineteenth Century, saving souls and establishing commercial ties. The discovery of diamonds in the Mineral Revolution of 1860 to 1880 brought this area into the

European economy and further established the British beachhead. As time went by the Batswana found themselves threatened by the Boers to the south, the Ndebele people to the north, and the Portuguese to the east, so in 1885 the Bechuanaland Protectorate was formed, primarily to protect British interests in the area (Godla). This action, however, should not be seen as an altruistic gesture on the part of the colonizers. As David Passage, U.S. Ambassador to Botswana, says, "The British didn't consider the area worth making into a colony."

The next several decades are a record of internecine struggles between the British and the local chiefs, the establishment of many councils, and the fragile flowering of democracy as an outgrowth of the kgotla system. As far as education was concerned, it hadn't advanced far. Each village had its own educational system of a sort (Evans and Noel), but, as Frank Youngman says, "this period was characterized by a neglect of social and economic development" on the part of the British, including the educational sphere (130). It is no wonder, then, that when independence came in 1966, the educational system was not adequate to meet the needs of an emerging nation. The people were poor and uneducated and left to fend for themselves. Richard O. Ulin says it well: "The scars of colonialism do not erase easily...." (145). However, President Seretse Khama said it even better:

When my government took office in 1965 we were
faced with a problem of under-development of

classic proportions. Such development programmes as were initiated under colonialism no more than scratched the surface of our problems. Most important of all, in contrast to other British colonies, there had been practically no attempt to train Botswana to run their own country. Not one single secondary school was completed by the colonial government.

(qtd. in Youngman 130)

The new Botswana had much developing to do. According to Passage, "At independence the country had only four college graduates and seven kilometers of paved roads." It was surrounded by hostile neighbors and it lacked the wherewithal to develop its resources.

However, there was change in the air in the educational sphere. Colonial education had emphasized manual skills, but "such practical curricula were rejected in favour of the traditionally [British] academic programmes which offered an opportunity to escape the poverty of rural life" (Rowell and Prophet 18). Children of the elite were still sent away to school as they had been before (Prophet, "Rhetoric" 15), but at least there was some attempt to provide an education for the Batswana, however impractical it may have been.

At first the government placed emphasis on the secondary system, hoping it would provide economic growth, and it followed the British system closely. Concomitantly, primary education was neglected (Kahn 84). However, in 1973 the country had grown to a point where it could now shift some resources to the primary system, and an attempt was made to bring more children into the schools. There was a feeling, though, that education in Botswana was not progressing, so in 1976 the government established a National Commission on Education to assess the situation.

The Commission reached numerous conclusions, but the upshot of their findings was that there had been no improvement in education since 1966 (Rowell and Prophet 17). It admitted that educational quality was low, yet it stuck with the elitist Cambridge Overseas School Certificate syllabus that had failed to serve the country in the past (Kahn 85-87). However, attempts were made to make the curriculum more practical to serve the needs of the student majority. In addition to the academic core subjects (English, Setswana, mathematics, science, agriculture, and social studies) there were now some electives for the students, including art, home economics, religious education, and technical studies (Rowell and Prophet 17).

Following the Commission's report there were several innovations. In 1978 the Department of Nonformal Education was established to join the divisions of Primary, Secondary, Technical Education, and Curriculum Development in the Ministry of Education

(Townsend-Coles 259), and in 1980 primary fees were abolished (Kahn 87). In 1985, following a needs assessment by the United States Agency for International Development, the Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project was established to improve the post-primary educational offerings. Syllabi were revised to include performance objectives and criterion-reference testing and to provide continuous assessment of the educational system (Evans and Noel).

Also in 1985 teacher training took a leap forward with the opening of Molepolole College of Education (teachers had heretofore been trained at the University of Botswana), and in 1986 a plan was adopted to provide seven years of primary education and two years of junior secondary education for as many students as possible (Kahn 89). In 1988 secondary school fees were abolished and entry to Form Three called for the passing of the Junior Certificate examination, which enabled secondary students to pursue O-level studies (there are no A-levels in Botswana) (Davies 295). Finally, the Department of Teacher Education was inaugurated in 1989, helping to raise the number of trained teachers, which, as recently as 1986, had been as low as thirty-eight percent (Evans and Noel).

As can be seen, there have been numerous advances in education in the past few decades, many of which are admirable, which leads us to consider the question--in what ways is education in Botswana superlative, or at least adequate for a developing country?

In response it is clear that there are many laudable features, first of which is the movement away from an elitist academic education to one that is more practical and suits the needs of the nation. Even though there has been resistance to vocational education because of the paucity of rewards that follow it (Evans and Noel), the term "practical" has been broadened to encompass other dimensions. It includes behaviors that are technically useful to society, the understanding of the way the everyday world works, and an analysis of human relationships, thus indicating a much more student-centered curriculum (Rowell and Prophet 18), one that would, in the words of Conrad W. Snyder, Jr., and Philemon T. Ramatsui, "...allow learners to better relate their educational experiences to their environment, as well as facilitate skills transfer to their everyday lives" (ix).

Other improvements have followed. The Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project has postulated admirable goals, including modern curriculum development, increased teacher education, in-service training for headmasters, the introduction of guidance and counseling, staff development, and instructional research (Evans and Noel).

In addition, the conditions for teachers have improved. Instructors typically live in dwellings on the school grounds and reportedly feel at home in their academic environments (Davies 297), teacher pay has improved in recent years and it is observed that "burnout" is not a common phenomenon among the instructors

(Davies 300). Moreover, Botswana can now proudly claim that seventy percent of its teachers are now trained (Facts 42), a marvelous advance for such a young country.

In the past the "better students went to better schools" and the poorer students languished in substandard institutions, but that is no longer the case. Access to education has improved, and the contrast between the government and the community schools has been blurred. Furthermore, this has been done without sacrificing the quality of education for the better students (Kahn 90-91).

There are improvements in other areas. Adult education has been thriving in recent years, with 794 posts for adult education personnel being filled in seven different ministries, all of them providing initial, advanced, and in-service training throughout the nation (Youngman 132-34). In addition, the Nonformal Education Department has grown from its humble roots and now provides educational materials to untrained teachers and is instrumental in providing Community Service using Form V leavers, not to mention the establishment of outreach posts such as the Maun Education Centre (Townsend-Coles 260-63).

In other areas the Batswana have learned how to make do. The provision of science equipment has always been difficult for such a poor nation, but the borrowing of the "Zimsci" kits (boxes of low-cost, easily available tools) from Zimbabwe has enabled the educational system to provide at least the rudiments of laboratory education for the students.

Finally, the greatest advances have come in the realm of attitudes. Students reportedly do not resist the idea of community service (Tirelo Setshaba) (Facts 44), and there has been a reduction of the kind of educational racism against Bushmen that Bessie Head revealed so markedly in her novella, Maru (Ulin 147-48). Moreover, it is pointed out that today's university students, tomorrow's leaders, espouse democracy as a way of life (Ulin 146). Best of all is this astonishing statistic--Botswana spends twenty percent of its available monetary resources on education (Facts 41).

All told, this is quite a record of accomplishment. However, if we adjust our microscope a bit, we can see that there are large areas of concern in the Botswana educational system. Many teachers remain untrained, particularly in science and mathematics (Kahn 88), so the nation must rely heavily on expatriate instructors, including Peace Corps volunteers (Davies 296). Girls and older students receive little encouragement to get an education and often are persuaded to drop out (Kahn 91). Furthermore, the Botswana system, still heavily in debt to the British model, places so much stress on preparation for examinations that not much time or energy is available for other areas of interest (Rowell and Prophet 25, Davies 296). As a matter of fact, art, music, and physical education are not even available in the primary school system.

In the area of instructional staff, there is a high turnover rate among teachers, possibly because teachers are relocated from post to post, and some feel that there is a lack of commitment among many Batswana teachers, possibly because some instructors never chose the profession in the first place (Davies 296).

Instruction is provided in Setswana for the first four standards, and then English becomes the medium of teaching. This may suit the elite, but many feel that the students lack the fluency to comprehend their lessons in what is essentially a foreign tongue (Rowell and Prophet 25). As Rod Nesbitt points out, English is not widely used outside the school and therefore serves little purpose inasmuch as Botswana already has a national language which could be the lingua franca for schools (122). As a result of the language problem, Rowell and Prophet believe that teachers' expectations for students are rather low (25).

In some areas there may appear to be advances, but upon closer examination they are limited indeed. The Botswana College of Agriculture, for example, is an impressive institution, but it is instructive to keep in mind that its diploma program only contains four students! Likewise, the University of Botswana's much heralded geology program only educates a handful of learners (Vink 71).

A recent study purports that Batswana students do well when they are properly supplied (Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda 41), but the

Catch-22 is that Botswana schools are not well supplied at all. Libraries, in particular, are inadequate.

Other problems come to the surface. Ulin reports that there are still racist attitudes directed towards Asians and whites in the educational system (148-49), in addition to the fact that university students are not really hopeful about the future (151).

Perhaps the greatest problem, though, is that there is such a reliance on outdated techniques. Group work is not practiced widely in Botswana schools (Rowell and Prophet 23), and the teachers tend to rely almost exclusively on "question and 'correct' answer exchanges, copying note/worksheet completion, written exercises, and tests" as methods of instruction (Rowell and Prophet 19). As a result, students are passive learners and really get little chance to exercise their intellectual curiosity. As they say, "Students are perceived as passive recipients of vast amounts of information to be memorized and as apprentices in the acquisition of elementary skills required for the production of specific products" (24). In fact, Prophet and Rowell have gone so far as to say:

Development of concepts, attitudes and manipulation skills, emphasized in the syllabus, appear not to be taking place. ...It is suggested that these practices are actually being inhibited in the classrooms rather than being developed. It is easy to

lay the blame on the teachers for the apparent failure to implement a very laudable set of curriculum aims, but this, however, fails to appreciate the complexity of the situation. Faced with large classes, syllabuses overladen with content, expectations from pupils, parents, headteachers, and the local communities who see JC Examination success, even though unattainable by the majority, as the priority of the schools, and an examination which still emphasizes and rewards simple rote learning and recall skills, it is no surprise that teachers utilize a set of strategies that ensures their survival in the classroom but fails to take cognizance of individual pupils and their development (Curriculum 29).

In short, even though the Botswana educational system has made advances since independence, it is apparent that, theories notwithstanding, there are numerous flaws in the way that education is carried out in the individual classroom.

Sometimes, though, the act of ascertaining the truth about education in Botswana can be an exercise in frustration, reminding us again of the enigmatic character of the system. In this sense the task is reminiscent of the five blind men who felt an elephant

to determine its true qualities. What one finds depends upon where one looks.

A case in point is Botswana's much-ballyhooed National Literacy Programme. Inaugurated shortly after the National Commission by the Department of Nonformal Education, the program set out to "eradicate illiteracy" by teaching the rudiments of Setswana to 250,000 men, women, and young people. Though properly financed and administered, the program suffered from the same rote learning processes in evidence in other Botswana educational programs and lacked a follow-up to determine how many students actually retained their new literacy skills. Moreover, there appear to be no statistics to show just how many students were actually served (Gaborone, et al. 351-62).

Another example of enigma is Botswana's junior secondary school science curriculum. If we listen to M. Nganunu of the Ministry of Education, the curriculum is a model for Third World countries. No longer relying on the elitist British model, it stresses the practical (in line with the new government thinking) and prepares students to discover the laws of nature in everyday life. Stressing such subjects as household chemicals and solar technology, the curriculum makes science accessible to a new generation of learners (441-48).

Prophet, however, disputes Nganunu's notions and states that there is "evidence of considerable discrepancies between curriculum intent and actual practice" ("Rhetoric" 13). He says, as he has

stated elsewhere, that the new science is the old science in new clothing, that the students are still not active participants in their own learning process, and that language barriers tend to make science instruction fruitless (14-21). As can be seen, it is not easy to judge the quality of the Botswana education system.

It might be instructive, however, to boil the system down and analyze one school to see how education functions in microcosm, and for that purpose this writer has chosen to examine the Maoka Community Junior Secondary School in Gaborone.

The school is very new, so new in fact that the grounds have not yet been landscaped, and it educates 364 students, though that number is expected to double soon. Drawing from the A, B, and C students of the local primary schools, it has ten classrooms, an art room, and a library in addition to semi-detached staff quarters, an outdoor kitchen, and four outdoor teaching areas.

Parents, some of whom are active in the PTA, contribute up to one hundred pula for two years per student. School starts at 7:00 a.m. and, after an assembly, there are forty-minute classes until the 1:00 lunch, which, incidentally, is free. The afternoon is generally taken up with study, schoolroom cleaning, and sports. Unlike some other Botswana schools, Maoka has few expatriate teachers.

Each child takes six core subjects and one optional subject, and it is interesting to note that boys frequently take home economics and girls enroll in design and technology. From these

facts it is easy to deduce that Maoka is an enviable institution.

Yet there are problems. Teenage pregnancy removes several students from their studies, despite the presence of a Family Life Education program. And it is reported that, even though family planning is available, most youngsters are not knowledgeable about the use of birth control devices. Other problems include large class sizes and a tendency to rely upon corporal punishment for discipline.

This writer visited Maoka on July 29, 1991, and had the opportunity to witness the educational process first-hand. In an English class containing perhaps forty-five students, the teacher lectured a bit and then used the rote recall method to draw out her students, incongruously eliciting responses on every subject from reptiles to English verbs. Her manner was rather dictatorial and she seemed somewhat disorganized. It is to her credit, however, that she seemed intimately acquainted with the students and knew their idiosyncrasies. This was just a brief visit, but it provided food for thought to consider what Prophet and others have been alleging about the actual practices of Botswana educators.

Just where will all of this lead in the future? To begin, it is apparent that the Botswana educational system is flawed, but it has high hopes. The government expects education to help achieve its four national goals--democracy, national unity, development, and self-reliance (Ulin 146)--and to this end it hopes to provide nine years of education for every student by the year 2000 (Evans

and Noel). In some quarters there may be little enthusiasm for the new practical approach to education (Davies 302), yet the instructional staff appears to have become acclimated to the system rather well (Davies 303). In fact, the teacher training standards are being raised, e.g., a three-year diploma will be available for primary teachers in 1993 (Evans and Noel).

Yet problems persist. Joseph M. Maseko affirms that education has not yet done the job of eliminating the status quo, and, in a stinging criticism of the Ministry, he states that "as a result of the poor or non-existence [sic] of sound and appropriate education and training policies, education and training is left for a fortunate few" (234).

Ulin, however, captures best the essence of education in Botswana. "Botswana's students," he says, "find themselves straddling two societies, two sets of values and customs, those of the tribal, agricultural village environment of their parents and those of a modernized, urban life-style which has come with the country's recent industrial development" (149).

The quality of the Botswana educational system, then, is enigmatic and frustrating to determine, yet we have glimpses of the truth that give us hope. It may be years before this drought-stricken nation achieves the educational standards of the United States or Britain or Japan, yet it has come a long way in a very short period of time. Perhaps, as Botswana achieves the

independence of identity that necessarily follows the attainment of political independence, it will create an educational system that is the rival and envy of its neighbors, not only in sub-Saharan Africa but in the world at large.

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Curriculum Project

7th Grade World Cultures Course

Southern Africa: Zimbabwe, Bostwana, Malawi

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10/14/91

Social and Economic Change in Southern Africa

Background material and curriculum projects for a 7th grade World Cultures course.

The goal of this curriculum report is to provide students with a useful introduction for studying Southern Africa. The countries to be covered are Zimbabwe, Botswana and Malawi.

It is important to have some understanding of the geography of Southern Africa to appreciate fully the history of the area, as well as economic and social change during the past decade.

The history of Southern Africa is largely concerned with the movement, meetings, rivalries and conflicts between the various peoples who have settled the region. The physical factors of landscape, climate, soils and the presence of valuable minerals decide to a large extent where man will settle; what food can be hunted, gathered or grown; where livestock can be grazed; and where industrial development can take place.

PROJECT 1 - Landlocked Nations.

Thirty of the world's independent nations are without access to the sea. Fourteen of these nations are in Africa. Landlocked nations often have numerous social and economic problems. The following lesson plan explores the background essential to understanding the problems faced by just three of these countries: Zimbabwe, Botswana and Malawi.

Project 1 - Landlocked Nations (continued)

Materials: (see page 2a)

Provide students with a map of Africa complete with its political boundaries. Students should fill in the names of Africa's 14 landlocked countries which would include the three above.

1. Students should define "landlocked" nations.
2. Pre test students' geographic knowledge such as:
 - a. What percentage of the world is water?
 - b. Are there more or fewer landlocked nations than before WWII? Why?
 - c. What are some characteristics of many landlocked countries?
3. Have students write about the possible advantages and disadvantages of being landlocked.
4. Research why some countries become landlocked.
5. Use the World Bank's Development Data Book and review such tables as life expectancy, literacy, population growth rates, GNP, etc. Discuss the social and economic conditions which such statistics measure.

Project 2 - Map Study II. (see page 2b)

Provide the students with 4 maps of Africa:

1. Population
2. Land use
3. Mineral Resources
4. Political (see page 2c)

Based on information students gather from these maps, which nations do they feel have the greatest potential for economic growth in the years ahead? Reasons for choices should be given. Again, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Malawi are to be featured.

AFRICA

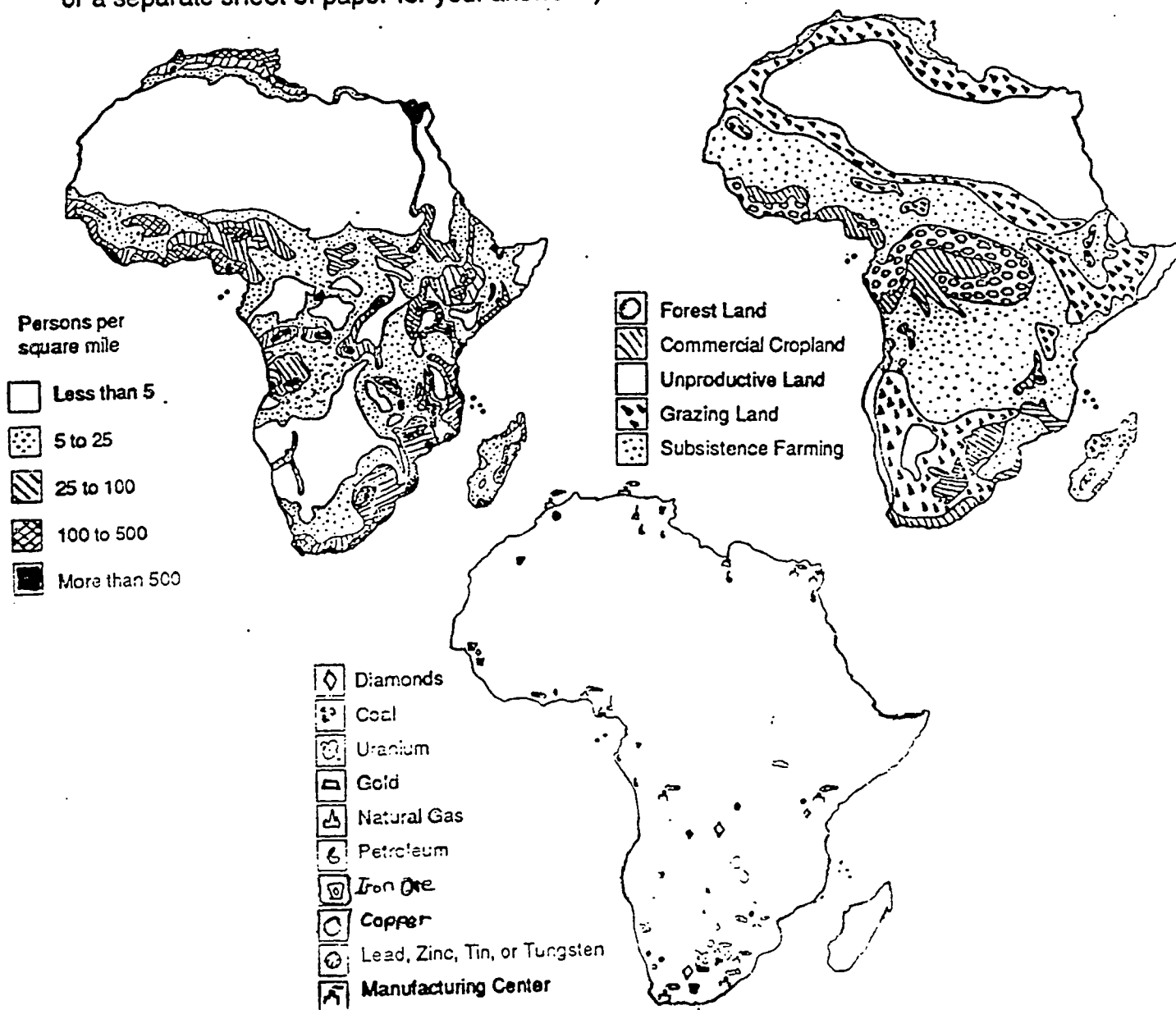


☐ Fill in the names of Africa's 14 landlocked countries-- Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Try to do this exercise without looking at an atlas.

Educators are encouraged to reproduce this activity sheet for classroom use.

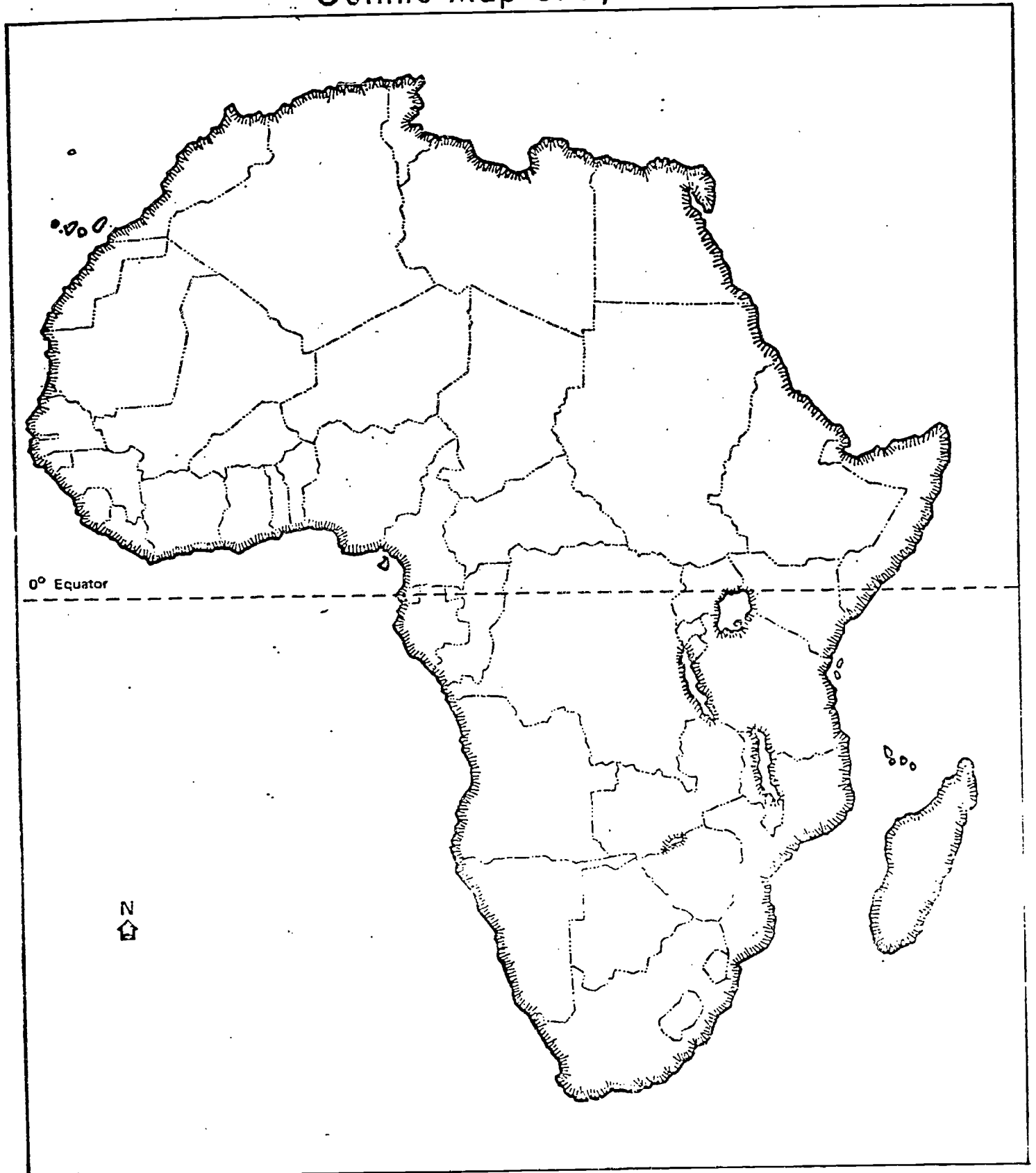
This map has been provided by United Learning Associates.

Directions: Use the maps on this page and a political map to help determine responses for the two questions at the bottom of the page. (Use the back of this paper or a separate sheet of paper for your answers.)



- 1) Based on information you can gather from these three maps which 5 African nations do you feel have the greatest potential for economic growth and security as we head towards the year two thousand? Give reasons for each of your choices.
- 2) Which 5 African nations do you feel have the worst chances for a secure future? Give reasons for your choices.

Outline Map of Africa



Southern Africa 3

Project 3 - General Geographic Knowledge (See page 3a and 3b)

Provide students with a map of the world which is numbered with many mistakes. The students should find the mistakes. Examples:

1. The North Sea is mislabeled.
2. Greenland is mislabeled.
3. Tasmania and South Amnerica are incorrect.
4. Africa and South America are incorrect.

The above can be a good introduction to a geography unit for any area of the world. Students enjoy the exercise and become more aware of maps in general.

Project 4 - Conservation.

Show students a Conservation Map of Africa (Africa: Oxford Regional Economic Atlas. Oxford University Press, 1965).

Ask them to note the number and distribution of national parks on the continent. Discuss:

1. Why is protection of animal life important?
2. In what ways can people who live outside Africa help protect the animals on that continent?
3. Why is Africa's resource of wild animals threatened?

The above project will help students develop an attitude of respect for all forms of life - human, animal and plant life.

一、二、三、四、五、六、七、八、九、十、十一、十二、十三、十四、十五、十六、十七、十八、十九、二十、二十一、二十二、二十三、二十四、二十五、二十六、二十七、二十八、二十九、三十、三十一、三十二、三十三、三十四、三十五、三十六、三十七、三十八、三十九、四十、四十一、四十二、四十三、四十四、四十五、四十六、四十七、四十八、四十九、五十、五十一、五十二、五十三、五十四、五十五、五十六、五十七、五十八、五十九、六十、六十一、六十二、六十三、六十四、六十五、六十六、六十七、六十八、六十九、七十、七十一、七十二、七十三、七十四、七十五、七十六、七十七、七十八、七十九、八十、八十一、八十二、八十三、八十四、八十五、八十六、八十七、八十八、八十九、九十、九十一、九十二、九十三、九十四、九十五、九十六、九十七、九十八、九十九、一百。



Answers to Project "HOW MANY MISTAKES ARE THERE IN THIS MAP?"

1. Arctic Ocean mislabeled
2. Canada mislabeled
3. Queen Elizabeth Islands (Canada)
4. Greenland mislabeled
5. U.S. Canadian border incorrect
6. Panama's northern border incorrect
(missing countries: Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua & Costa Rica)
7. Puerto Rico, West Indies
(Cuba is the northwest island in this chain. The Bahamas, Grand Turk & Caicos Isles and the lesser Antilles are missing.)
8. Atlantic Ocean
9. Outline is of Africa
10. Madagascar - located off Africa
11. Outline is tip of S. America/Argentina
12. Outline is of New Zealand, located by Australia
13. Outline is of South America
14. Iceland (not Ireland)
15. Norway (not Finland)
16. Finland (not Denmark)
17. Svalbard, Norway/Franz Josef Land, U.S.S.R. (not Greenland)
18. Novaya Zemlya, U.S.S.R. (not Norway)
19. Poland (not Yugoslavia)
20. Yugoslavia (not Poland)
21. U.S.S.R.
22. Kamchatka, U.S.S.R. (not Korea)
23. Japan
24. N. Korea, S. Korea, (not Vietnam)
25. Philippines (not Japan)
26. Tasmania (not New Zealand)

Historical Background

During the second half of the 19th century, what is now Botswana was dominated by Chief Khama of the Bamangwato clan. His contribution to the history of the period makes him one of the outstanding African leaders of his day. He was successful in preventing his country coming under the influence of either the Boers or Cecil Rhodes. By doing so, he helped create the opportunity for political independence in the twentieth century.

With appropriate readings and discussion, seventh graders should be able to describe the circumstances by which Botswana became a British protectorate and colony. Students should also do map work showing European colonies in Africa in 1879 and again in 1914. Nationalism should be reviewed here as the students study the events surrounding the independence of each of the three nations.

The economic base of each country must be studied. Students will be interested to learn of the discovery of great mineral resources in Botswana, thus opening new employment opportunities within the country. They need to realize that the other main economic base is cattle. The EEC is a valuable market for the country's beef. Discussions

about the cattle ownership will show the traditions of the people. This will add to the students' knowledge of the culture of the area.

With regard to Zimbabwe, I was very interested in the land question before the seminar, and I feel this area was covered very well. The dualistic nature of agriculture should be stressed in this part of the curriculum project. The two categories are the Large Scale Commercial Sector and the Small Scale Sector.

The Large Scale Commercial Sector occupies about 40% of Zimbabwe, and has 4,600 farmers on an average of 2,400 hectares each. The Small Scale Sector has about 1,000,000 farming families communally grazing and individually cultivating about 50% of the country's land. Each farming family has access to 17 hectares on the average. This sector also provides subsistence to about 5,000,000 people.

Only 300 of the 4,600 Commercial farmers are blacks. All the Small Scale farmers are blacks. This characteristic has its explanation in the colonial "Land Apportionment Act of 1930," which provided for the taking of land from blacks and passing it on to the white settlers. There was also the "Land Tenure Act of 1969," which consolidated the results of the Land Apportionment Act and further provided for separate development of agriculture.

All of the above was very well explained by Dr. Sam Moyo on July 1, 1991 at the University of Zimbabwe. Further references to Dr. Moyo's work will be found in the bibliography.

Students will be given tables with the appropriate statistics, and from these they will make graphs on land use, production, etc. Figures for tobacco, maize, sugar, wheat, cotton and beef production will be supplied. Pie and bar graphs will be created by the students.

Problems facing the agricultural industry will need to be presented:

1. Unavailability of tractors and spares
2. Transport
3. Lack of marketing depots
4. Disease outbreaks
5. Soil Depletion
6. Droughts
7. Expense of fertilizers
8. High concentration of farmers on fragile agro-ecological regions.

I am indebted to discussion notes compiled by Mr. P. Kwela, the Acting Director of Practical Agricultural Experience at the University of Zimbabwe. (Faculty of Agriculture) for the information in the above section.

Some readers may feel that parts of the material here are outside the scope of the typical 7th grade curriculum, however, it is perfect subject matter for an interdisciplinary unit. I have already been approached for accompanying materials by teachers in my district as a result of questions and discussion which resulted from one

of my inservice presentations. I know that the material has definite possibilities for several productive lessons.

Land distribution has been at the heart of the under-development of the communal areas. Land tenure and the shortage of land are the most serious impediments to the economic and social development of the area. These issues are perhaps the most crucial challenges facing Zimbabwe of the future. The continuing increase in agricultural production is dependent on the reallocation of the current unutilized and underutilized land.

With regard to Malawi, students need to be aware of the refugee problem. The Mozambican refugee population is already the largest on the African continent. It grew by 87,000 during 1990, thus bringing the total to an astonishing 209,000.

Malawi is one of Africa's smallest, most overcrowded countries. According to the World Bank, it is the fourth poorest country in the world. One of three Malawian children dies before the age of five. Malawians and their government have shown the refugees admirable generosity.

The Malawi government has been criticized, however, for its treatment of its own people. The State Department has called Malawi's human rights performance the "reverse" of its "exemplary" handling of the refugee problem.

Meeting with officials who work with the refugees was certainly a high point of the seminar. Visiting the camps was an experience which cannot be forgotten.

Reduced international assistance, continued influx, and the refugees' long stay in Malawi have taken their toll on relations between the locals and refugees. While relations have generally remained very good considering the scale of the influx, there have been some reports of hostilities (World Refugee Survey, 1991).

At this point, students can be asked to list and discuss the reasons people emigrate. This can be the teachable moment when students can look at their family's origins and the reasons for coming to the United States. This can also be the time when global responsibilities and interdependence are studied.

There is much material which is outside the scope of this project. I have listed most of my reading in the bibliographies attached.

I shall return to some thoughts on Botswana at this point. The aim of education in Botswana is very clear. Education is to promote the national ideals of democracy, development, self-reliance, unity and social harmony (Kagisano). To educate people is to change them, and education offers the opportunity to exercise control over how change will come about.

This seminar on Social and Economic change in Southern Africa has changed me. I am much more aware and knowledgeable about the traditions, history and culture of various African countries. I feel that I can better impart this material to my students as they strive to understand and appreciate their own heritage and that of people in other lands. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to have been a part of the group to Southern Africa.

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OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

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October 17, 1991



Mr. Brian Buchiarelli
Institute for International Education
809 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017-3580

Dear Mr. Buchiarelli:

The objective of this report is to outline the focus of findings obtained during my research on the development and growth of citizenship education in Botswana. The items discussed in this report will be further elaborated, when the publication of my research appears in journal form later in this academic year. Indeed, one manuscript has already been accepted by the Virginia Resolves, the official journal of the Virginia Council for the Social Studies, a nationally circulated publication. Like the Virginia Resolves, several other publications are pending from my study, all submitted to nationally-based, ERIC-referenced publications. As these articles become available I will submit copies to both the U.S. Department of Education, Seminars Abroad Office, and I.I.E.

To begin the study it is appropriate to ask key questions that directed the inquiry of this qualitative study. Listed below are some selected questions which the researcher saw as essential to the study:

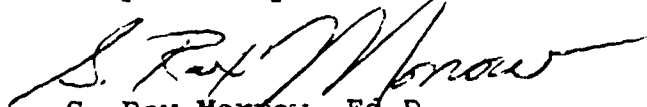
- 1) What is meant by citizenship education in Botswana (a definition)?
- 2) What societal characteristics are desirable or validate an effective citizenship education?
- 3) When and where does citizenship or education for democracy occur in the state school curriculum?
- 4) What instructional strategies and classroom teaching techniques, are employed to develop the programs goals?
- 5) What are the literacies needed by 21st Botswana citizens?
- 6) How does the Botswana, and its educational leaders evaluate either success or failure in its citizenship education plan? What are the evaluative factors observed?

- 7) How does the Botswana Ministry of Education define their roles in developing democratic citizenship?
- 8) How does Botswana view the development of citizenship education on other countries of southern Africa?

On Monday, October 14th, and Tuesday, October 15th, I presented three workshops on southern Africa to the Norfolk City-wide In-Service Program. On Monday, my session was entitled "Teaching About Southern Africa: The Infusion of the Modern African Experience into the Classroom" for elementary school teachers and curriculum supervisors. The workshop was conducted at Tanners Creek Elementary School during the a.m., and the secondary session was conducted at Larrymore Elementary School in the p.m. On Tuesday, October 15th, I conducted a third workshop entitled "Teaching About Sub-Saharan Africa: Curricula in Today's Africa" for middle school and secondary social studies teachers at Lake Taylor High School of Norfolk Public Schools. From the three workshops approximately 150 social studies teachers and educators took active participation.

On or about February 5th, 1992, I will submit a proposal to the National Council for the Social Studies to present my research findings at the annual conference scheduled for November 13-18, 1992 in Detroit, Michigan.

Respectfully Submitted,



S. Rex Morrow, Ed.D.

1991 Southern African Seminar

CREATING STUDENT EXPERIENCES IN INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT: THE BOTSWANA EXPERIENCE

by

Deborah Namm, Ph.D.

Chair, Graduate Degree Programs in Management
Antioch University, Santa Barbara, CA.

U.S. businesses can no longer ignore the impact of international trade; the world is quickly becoming a one world economic market system. Long term trends for U.S. management include: internationalization of U.S. markets¹, world economics that are interdependent², international competition from all over the world³, and globalization of world markets⁴.

Internationalizing the business curriculum has become an important focus in most universities across the United States. One way to help integrate international management into the current curriculum involves the use of experiential exercises.

Kolb described four modes of learning: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation.⁵ Effective instruction involves using all four learning styles.

Two exercises have been developed to make use of all of the learning styles while providing students with the opportunity for concrete experience. Both exercises have been designed to be used in conjunction with a course in International Management. In addition, the exercises could be included in a variety of courses including: Marketing, Strategic Planning, Problem Solving, Developing the Business Plan, etc.

In the two exercises, questions are included at the end of each scenario. These questions can be used as discussion starters or can be given as part of a written assignment for individuals or group

members. In each case, supplemental materials provided by the local chamber of commerce and by the Botswana Embassy can provide students with additional background information.

- ¹ John J. Curran, "What Foreigners Will Buy Next", *Fortune*, February 13, 1989, pp. 94-97.
- ² Nigel M. Healey, "Danger in a 'Dormant' Crisis: The Debtors are in a Worse Situation than Ever", *World Press Review*, January 1989, pp. 30-32.
- ³ Louis Kraar, "Korea: Tomorrow's Powerhouse", *Fortune*, August 5, 1988, pp. 75-81.
- ⁴ Theodore Levitt, "The Globalization of Markets", *Harvard Business Review*, May-June, 1983, pp. 92-102.
- ⁵ David Kolb, *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984).

CASE 1: SAFARI MADNESS

You've just returned from a safari in Botswana, and you loved it. You like to travel, and as you think about your office job, the idea of going into the travel business seems appealing to you. The people were friendly, the service was excellent at the resort, and when you tell your friends about your vacation and show them your slides, they seem envious and ask lots of questions about how to make arrangements for future vacations in Botswana.

You get the idea that maybe you can set up a travel business to take advantage of your recent contacts in Botswana. While you were in Botswana, you made a point of talking to some guides about moonlighting for a small travel firm, and they seemed open to the idea of making some extra money.

Also, you remember a conversation with one of the owners of the small resort at the beginning of your trip. He said that the government position on the travel industry involved emphasizing fewer tourists, but more luxury travel tours and accommodations.

Your work puts you in constant contact with upper middle class executives who are often stressed out. The cost of vacations is not an issue for them. You believe that they would be willing to pay more money for an unusual trip that is carefully planned out.

You believe you can sell the idea that Botswana is one of the last genuine African frontiers, where people can see animals in their natural habitat before industrialization changes the environment. You also believe that the government position on tourism can actually be a selling point for potential travelers because they would be among a select group of people who would experience something out of the ordinary - something worth the extra cost.

With all of these ideas in your mind, you decide that it is worth putting together a business plan for a potential international travel business. You need to get more information about several areas. Where do you begin? What kind of information do you need to collect? How is preparing a business plan for an international business different from preparing for a U.S. business? How do you test out your ideas and assumptions about a potential market?

CASE 2: BOTSWANA BASKETS

You've just returned from a trip to Botswana, where you bought gifts for your family and friends. You fell in love with the arts and crafts of Botswana. You especially liked the baskets that were displayed wherever you traveled in the country.

You are near retirement age, and are looking for some kind of business that will provide you with employment for the rest of your life in a comfortable and dependable way. You have been considering something like a mail order business, which you can run from your home.

When you give your friends and relatives their baskets as gifts, they are delighted and ask if you know how or where they can get more. You are pleasantly surprised by their enthusiasm over the presents, and discover that you have kept the business cards of several shopkeepers throughout Botswana.

In addition, you notice a few shops in the more expensive areas of your city which sell baskets from Botswana. You subsequently learn that Botswana is world famous for its basketmaking. Since you were so interested in the subject, while in the country, you took several slides of people making baskets, and also collected books on the subject.

When local clubs, churches, and school groups ask you to speak about your trip, you decide to focus on the crafts of the area, and spend at least half of your presentation on how the baskets are made and sold. At the end of your talks, several people ask how they can purchase such baskets.

To your delight, you discover that you paid less than one third of the retail cost of the baskets in the local shops. Most small baskets cost you between \$5 and \$10 and were selling for \$30-\$100 in the United States. Middle size baskets cost you \$12-\$25, and were selling for \$100-\$200, while the larger baskets cost you \$50-\$100 and were selling for \$250-\$700. While you did have to pay extra for shipping overseas, it only cost you about 10-15% of your total cost. It took about 3 weeks for you to receive your boxes of baskets.

You realize that the mark-up price for such items is quite high, and wonder if there is enough demand for the products to warrant considering either a mail-order business or a small shop in the city. You are interested in doing market research on the possibilities for this business. How might you go about this research? How does the type of business (mail-order or retail shop) affect the content of your plan? What would you do first? How does the fact that this involves working in another country affect the way in which you conduct your market research? What kind of information do you need to collect to make a decision about potential sales and profits. How would you go about collecting that information?

The cases provided above can be used in a one-session class, or throughout the semester. You can encourage students to write directly to government agencies and professional associations, and to review pertinent periodicals, books and monographs about Botswana.

I have included the names and addresses of key agencies and organizations to help students get started on their research. To save time, you may want to contact these organizations ahead of time and provide reports issued by each office as resources or reference materials throughout the term.

Key addresses:

Department of Trade and Investment Promotion
Ministry of Commerce and Industry
Private Bag 004
Gaborone, Botswana
Telex: 2674 Trade BD
Fax: 371539

Embassy of the Republic of Botswana
4301 Connecticut Ave., Suite 404
Washington, DC 20008
Telephone: 202-244-4990/1
Telex: BOTWASH 64221
Fax: 244-4164

Director of Tourism
Department of Tourism
Private Bag 0047
Gaborone, Botswana

Hotel & Tourism Association of Botswana (HATAB)
Monitoring arm for Botswana's tourism industry. Members include hotels, lodges, camps, national airlines, air charter companies, travel agents, hunting services, etc.
Director of HATAB
P.O. Box 968
Gaborone, Botswana

Department of Government Printing & Publishing Services
Private Bag 0081
Gaborone, Botswana

Ministry of Finance & Development Planning
Private Bag 008
Gaborone, Botswana

Department of Wildlife and National Parks
P.O. Box 131
Gaborone, Botswana

Addresses of Business Periodicals:

FOCUS ON AFRICA
Media International
P.O. Box 25683
Washington, DC 20007
Telephone: 202-337-3761
Fax: 202-342-0751

SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST
Business Manager
SADCC Press
P.O. Box 6290
Harare, Zimbabwe

Experiential learning can make the classroom experience interesting and fun, can give students a more active role in learning new material, and provides instructors with modules that can be easily integrated into a more traditional curriculum.

If you have any ideas about how to make these exercises more relevant, or if you have other exercises and simulations about countries in southern Africa, please contact Deborah Namm, c/o Antioch University, 801 Garden Street, Suite 101, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

The Economics of African Literature:
Cultural Disparity

Report By
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Fulbright-Hayes Seminar Abroad Program
The Social and Economic Changes of Southern Africa
July-August 1991

The Economics of African Literature:

Cultural Disparity

Colonialism. That term and its ramifications have defined most of the texts I have read and many of the lessons I have taught since 1985. Yet until my travels through Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi during the 1991 Fulbright-Hayes Seminars Abroad Program, I had no in-country experience with the complexities - those myriad intricacies - that evolve daily as disparate cultures attempt to blend.

Steeped in contemporary African literature from an earlier National Endowment of the Humanities Seminar and a Council of Basic Education Independent Study Grant, I eagerly approached the opportunity to live and travel six weeks in Southern Africa, little realizing how well my studies of African novels, dramas, and poetry had prepared me to observe the economic and social changes. The negative side of materialism, the blending of diverse cultures, and the inevitable clash of traditions - all recurring themes of East and West African literature - represent issues today 'n Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Botswana. This report relates these African literary themes as I observed them in my summer's travel and studies. Also, this report explains the progress of the literary exchange undertaken by two of my junior English classes and one sixth-form class of Seke #1 Secondary School in Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe.

Money and free enterprise are synonymous. But lurking nearby lies the underside of monetary success: greed and corruption. Many African novels elaborate on the malaise of materialism, a

characteristic of the years after independence. One of the best examples, The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born by Ayi Kwei Armah, describes this negative influence well. The narrator in conversation says:

My wife has seen the true salvation.
How do you know?
She talks about it... It is the blinding gleam of
beautiful new houses and the shine of powerful new
Mercedes cars. It is also the scent of expensive
perfumes and the mass of a new wig. (56)

Despairing of his wife's newfound salvation and thinking that something is wrong with him because he has not tried to attain a government position similar to that gained by one of his schoolmates, the narrator - because of his lack of materialistic goals - stands in opposition to the wishes of his wife and family, who want the better life of monetary prestige. Eventually, when his former classmate and the other officials of the government are led only by self interest, the narrator decries those "black men with white souls ... trying mightily to be white." (126) He thinks,

So this was the real gain. The only real gain.
This was the thing for which poor men had fought
and shouted. This was what it had come to: not
that the whole thing might be overturned and ended,
but that a few black men might be pushed closer to
their masters, to eat some of the fat into their
bellies too. That had been the entire end of it. (126)

Armah shows Ghana to have gained little from its black leaders who have forgotten their own people. Instead, in their rush for power and status, these men have become selfishly "white." So, too,

certain social and political elements of the present-day Zimbabwe follow Armah's sentiments.

White man's greed, shown in the colonizer over his subjects, has long existed, but the greed of black man is something new, something more uncomfortable. Zimbabwe currently exists in prime time for such aggressiveness and self-interest. For example, the leaders in Zimbabwe's educational system want a country with first-rate, competitive products for export. Zealous, motivated, and persuasive, they project ambitious auras as they strive for the ultimate goal - a government post. Will these energetic, charismatic people retain their honesty? Will their individual ambitions benefit their former villages? Or will the only gain be personal aggrandizement as has happened too frequently in the past - and as is chronicled in contemporary fiction?

Some lectures at the University of Zimbabwe discussed dishonest actions and sluggard politics similar to those of fiction. According to Dr. Machingaidze, although Zimbabwe has received accolades, the country has not really advanced since its independence. He emphasized that a free press does not exist; corruption is protected. While students rise against corruption, no one hears about it. The commission steals and does not go to jail, but a man who steals bread is jailed. Professor Machingaidze stated, "For so many who have given their lives, we haven't done much. The government has been pushed by African farmers. ...Now the leaders have turned. There are three armies in one to bring political groupings together. I went to school with these people.

How could they have acquired this [monetary wealth]? Not possibly with their positions. These men are contrary to what they were as students. As ministers, they have bought cars and sold them at exorbitant prices. They didn't go to jail; they were out in one night." Machingaidze's comments echo Armah's fiction on Ghana. Independence naturally means changes, but those benefiting most are the new leaders. The fate of the masses of indigenous people remains as usual - most often deprived.

In contrast to such negative literary portrayals supported by some current economic details, the educators I met in Zimbabwe symbolize hope for that country's future (even enmeshed as it is in the land problem). People such as Peter Dzvimbo, Dean of the Graduate Education Department of the University of Zimbabwe, and Dan Sithole, Principal of the Zimbabwe College of Forestry, stand confidently for Zimbabwe's ability to succeed economically. Both men were educated in the United States; both returned to Zimbabwe to work for educational progress. They both aspire to positions beyond education. Sithole wants a government post. His diplomacy and administrative success at the College of Forestry indicates his talent. Peter Dzvimbo has climbed from his village to a professorship and administrative position at the University of Zimbabwe. His ranch-style home on acreage is many worlds removed from his village without electricity or pumped water. As such talented, dedicated, and ambitious men like Peter and Dan further their own careers, surely they will be more mindful of their past and the needs of the villagers, their family members. These men, if

they succeed in their ambitions, need not become another governmental official who parks his Mercedes behind a walled city lot, an official who has passed the hundreds waiting in bus lines to be shuttled each weekend to their villages. Power and greed need not be synonymous. Maybe men such as Peter Dzvimbo and Dan Sithole, if selected for government positions, will work to improve the social and economic conditions of the indigenous masses. If so, many themes of contemporary literature will be disproved.

Perhaps the most unsettling and the most written about aspect of Africa lies in the contrasts of its two worlds: Western technology and the traditional village. Upheaval and agony in the guise of colonialism originally connected these disparate worlds. Literature abounds recounting the process. Chinua Achebe in the novel Things Fall Apart details the Nigerian experience. Poetry from Uganda delves into the emotional pain and familial turmoil that ensues the colliding of diverse cultures. For example, Lawino rails at her husband in Okot p'Bitek's Song of Lawino and Song of Ocol. She is upset that Ocol prefers Western ways. He has a house in the city and an educated wife, groomed to European styles. Lawino herself questions "standing up to cook," using outhouses, wearing lipstick, reading "forests of books," and preferring the White traditions over the Acoli ways. She chides Ocol for giving up his traditions and for verbally abusing his Acoli relatives. She thinks he has sold out, that he has lost himself. In contrast, Ocol sees the death of traditional Africa as inevitable and even welcome. He likes the changes; he is scornful of the past. He

replies to Lawino's outrage with "Let the drummers/Play the rhythms/Of the funeral dance,/And let the people sing and dance/And celebrate the passing of/The Old Homestead!" He continues, "Weep long,/For the village world/That you know/And love so well,/Is gone/Swept away/By fierce fires/Of progress and civilization!" (147) Yet, ironically, Ocol is not the hero. He is vanquished and does not know it.

Similar to Ocal's proclamation in song, the traditional Africa is being lost in Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi. Perhaps more accurately, Western tradition and technology is being superimposed on traditional African life. In the process a unique - often incongruous - blend of cultures arises. Much of the Africa I observed this summer will not be the Africa of the future. As Ocol tells Lawino, the demise of the village customs appears inevitable. In the meantime incongruity will rule, for somehow what is traditional as well as what is Western must blend.

To begin a discussion of the resulting incongruities, I want to share one evening in Malawi when Africa appeared idyllically "perfect," that superficial blend of the present and the past that contains the problems of neither. At that time, I observed a culture precariously balanced before incontrovertible change. It was near the end of the seminar, when I stood atop a hill that overlooked Lake Malawi and the Nkopola Lodge. As the sun set, I listened to the evening quiet that was disturbed only momentarily by a truck's passing on the dirt road below me. Twilight fell; I watched the glimmer of campfires from nearby villages. The lodge,

on the other side of the hill, kept its image in my mind: gorgeous wide white beaches, hand sweep to perfection each night. Large boulders with concrete steps enabled the tourist to ascend to modern rooms that overlooked stunning lake vistas. Tables with thatched umbrellas dotted the lawn, and lounge chairs were new and plentiful. Never would I have imagined that such luxury was part of Malawai. But now Nkopola Lodge had presented itself to me; it was a location where I could relax with all necessities (except a library!) and still be surrounded by natural beauty.

But then I looked ahead of me to the side opposite the lodge, to a land undeveloped by modern technology. No electric lights illuminated the landscape. No progress was apparent as in buildings or the white noise of traffic. As I watched the sunlight fall, I mentally pictured what lay ahead for miles: villages and villagers, walking their daily routes for food or goods or returning from tending crops. Their national curfew was 10:00 p.m. Their lives were still largely regulated by the hours of the sun. For just this moment life held the future and the past harmoniously: luxury existed for tourists without the usual problems of advanced technology, yet Yusuf K. Abudu and his family, woodcarvers in the nearby village, lived in this slumming country among many placid people who admired their President Banda. Life in Malawi momentarily was stable, balanced, peaceful. ...But I knew that very scene itself to be an aberration. Twilight was covering the poverty, the overpopulation, the refugees who were settled several hundred miles south of Mangochi. Darkness swallowed that

moment's perfect illusion of Malawi. Change was inevitable; turmoil was likely. And incongruities would fill the years in between. Literature and history have both told the story many times, but I now was witnessing the blending of cultural disparity first hand.

Incongruities. They occur often in Africa in those jarring moments of social and cultural disparities that pull us unexpectedly from the technological present to the pre-industrial past. Such differences abounded in Zimbabwe as well as in Malawi. One such incident involved the visit to Dean Peter Dzvimbo's village outside of Harare. The trip took several hours on the highway, then miles of dirt road to a lane that was too full of ruts and overhanging wild brush to permit our bus to travel farther. We had arrived at our first village, and a special one because it had been Peter's home. Who should be so happy to greet us? None other than Peter's father, who energetically walking down a small sandy lane, waved and smiled our welcome. His attire? He wore a business outfit - a black suit and a tie, complete even down to his black wingtips. I thought I was seeing an illusion! Behind him a group of the women, including his wife, were singing African songs to greet us. Their enthusiasm and happiness showed in every gesture and every note. Surprisingly, these village women were also dressed up. Some sported dresses of taffeta; others wore lace. After handshaking and exchanges of welcome, we went inside the hut of Peter's parents. Another surprise awaited us: the floor was concrete (painted black), with a concrete "seat" (also painted black) that edged the circle of the thatched hut. An open fire was

in the middle. What furniture should grace this hut? What else, of course, but a china hutch, filled with white dishes. (See photo A, Appendix.) Outside, another unexpected turn: the village had greeted us with a purpose. These women were craft workers who had planned to sell their needlework. Our money was most welcome and was solicited. Yes, entrepreneurial skills had reached even the roots of village life.

In Botswana, unexpected overlaps of the Western-style and traditional African life existed, too. After travelling by van for two days on dirt and sandy roads in the Kalahara Desert and being unable to find services to fix our numerous flat tires, we unexpectedly had to stay overnight in Nata. Stranded by the roadside, near only a filling station, a bottle store, and the beginnings of new construction for a motel, I wondered where we would sleep. I was prepared to snooze sitting up in the van. But what were we to find for our night's lodging? Nothing less than a first-rate motel with a restaurant serving candlelight dinners, according to the best of Western traditions. Our sleeping accommodations in separate buildings, designed as huts, were outstanding - even down to tiled showers and matching fabrics in draperies and bed spreads. (See photos B and C, Appendix.) How could we, after spending several days in Maun and the Okavango Delta and being lost to the dirt road that ate normal tires, suddenly find - unplanned, late at night - such luxury? Sometimes such contrasts, although as in that moment welcome, were too much

to assimilate. I began to feel schizophrenic. Never before had I been tossed so rapidly between disparate worlds.

One incident at Lobatse Teacher Training School in Botswana illustrated graphically the blending of Western and African cultures. The students had planned a presentation for us. Cultural dualities shaped the program. First, some of the students prepared to dance. What was their first dance? The Virginia Reel! They proceeded to more formal Western dances such as the waltz. While attractive, these formal styles lacked a certain ease. Especially the waltz was awkward, for the participants held themselves stiffly and counted outloud to keep to the the steps. (I would have done no differently - if as well.) But midway through the program, several students read poems, one in English and the other in Setswana. The audience, only gradually attuning to the activities, had been bored at the beginning, but their interest sparked when the student read in Setswana. Their enthusiasm rose to a crescendo as women students danced the finale: a traditional African mating song. Emotional electricity filled the auditorium as the drums beat in hypnotic rhythms while the women stamped their feet and moved so easily and smoothly into and cut of circles. (See photo D and E, Appendix.) By the conclusion of the program, the audience of future teachers was standing and clapping in lively participation. What an experience!

I compared the ease and beauty of their traditional song and dance with their somewhat stiff Virginia Reel and waltz. Perhaps the difference in these two - the mechanical and the natural -

symbolized their spirits in having to accept Western culture. Western life, now a necessity for economic development, was perhaps not entirely welcomed. The Western styles, while maintained with some ease, were without an innate bonding. The duality of their ceremonial program saddened me as this school's presentation symbolized so much of what had happened to traditional Africa. It had been overlaid with Western forms, some of which were improvements and others which still remained foreign - even though they had been accepted.

Yet a positivity surrounded the Lobatse Teachers' Training School program. Maybe such a culturally-split presentation will prevent those future educators from feeling as does Tambu in Tsitsi Dangarembga's Nervous Conditions. Tambu, confiding to her mother, laments her missionary education:

Look what they've [the British] done? They've taken us away. Lucia. Yakesure. All of us. They've deprived you of you, him of him, ourselves of each other. We're groveling. Lucia for a job, Jeremiah for money. Dad grovels to them. We grovel to him." (200)

The worst indictment follows as Tambu cries: "I'm not one of them but I'm not one of you." (201) Dangarembga has hit upon the most grueling aspect of economic and cultural disparity: belonging nowhere. Lobatse Teachers' School with its presentation of dualities may be trying to ease just that tragedy of clashing cultural traditions.

The incongruities within a culture widened in Malawi, that country which, because of its agricultural base and high density population, looked the most like the stereotyped Africa. In Malawi

traditional practices existed side by side with Western methods. One example was the traditional doctor who practiced in the market in the capitol Lilongwe. His office was a cardboard building covered with foil. Large signs announced his office, and the walls were covered with pictures from magazines and newspapers. (See photo F, Appendix.) What did this medicine man offer so unabashedly? He handed us a booklet with plastic covering each page. It reminded me of a restaurant menu. Here he had listed his cures and their prices. He had a remedy for everything from AIDS to warts, and the prices were expensive. Surely, he must have raised the prices for our benefit. He wanted to be filmed; he proudly showed his wares. Inside his small room, he would put powders on a sheet of notebook paper. The powder, a love potion, came with specific directions. Its cost was \$25.00. Here was a market unlike anything else I had seen in Africa. More beggars than usual asked for money; the dried food for sale and the vast array of used items spelled much poverty. But here the traditional doctor was selling, happily, his remedies for astronomical prices.

Another incongruous incident particularly comes to mind. It was an invitation by Yusuf, a woodcarver of Mangochi, to tour his woodcarving factory. (I met Yusuf when I bicycled down the lane from Nkopola Lodge on Lake Malawi, trying out bicycles to see if I later wanted to rent one for the afternoon. Just as I rode beyond the lodge gate, I was surrounded by children and behind them merchants holding their wares. Yusuf was the one who spoke to me, inviting me to see his woodcarving factory.) I had expected his

factory, since it was just outside the gate of our elegant resort lodge on Lake Malawi, to be a small business with a number of workers. After all, Yusuf used the word "factory" to describe his business. Instead, his factory consisted of two open-sided huts with merely two employees. One worker was pulling a bicycle chain wrapped around a pipe to power that same pipe's turning a chisel for the other worker to carve a candlestick. Supposedly two other carvers were on break elsewhere, and a group of young men were playing a board game nearby. An invitation to tour Yusuf's nearby village home revealed a neatly structured cooking hut, separate huts for the chickens and geese, all behind a tall reed fence. In his square three-roomed mud hut with a wooden door was a dining room, the walls lined with magazine pictures of lovely homes - both interior shots and garden and landscaping shots. Yusuf's neat, well ordered hut surrounded by Malawi's dry, sandy soil contrasted in the extreme to the magazine pages of Spanish-styled houses and lush green landscapes. But as Yusuf said, "They were pretty to look at." They were buildings and landscapes that he liked. (See photo G, Appendix.) I bought a number of carvings from Yusuf's factory. I will remember his kindness, his persistence in wanting to make a sale, and his aspirations. The space between what he dreams and where he is perhaps applies to the spirit of all of us. To share our perceptions with each other is what is most important.

I learned immensely from this African seminar - so much more than any report can detail. I now have a basic understanding of African economic issues (truly exciting for an English major!), and

I have an awareness of the infrastructure necessary to support a growing economy. African literature is more comprehensible as I have experienced three countries on that continent; African texts from the past that I have reread take on new meanings. Themes from contemporary African literature became alive in the daily life I witnessed; plus, I now have African friends with whom I correspond. And most exciting, my students at Burleson High School are benefiting from the literary exchange I set up with Ellen Gardener's Form-6 class at Seke #1 secondary school in Chitungwiza, Zimbabwe. Already, several students have received letters, and later this semester my class will read Stanley Nyamfukudza's The Non-Believer's Journey. This novel will introduce new concepts of fighting for freedom and give us a greater understanding of Zimbabwe's struggles. I will supplement the student's reading by sharing some of my many slides and playing some of the tapes I took of Zimbabwean music.

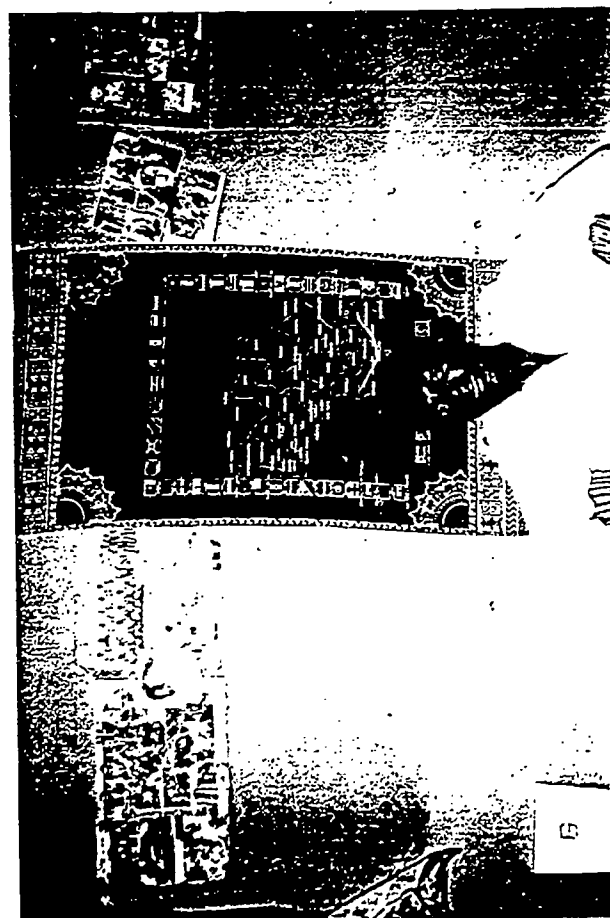
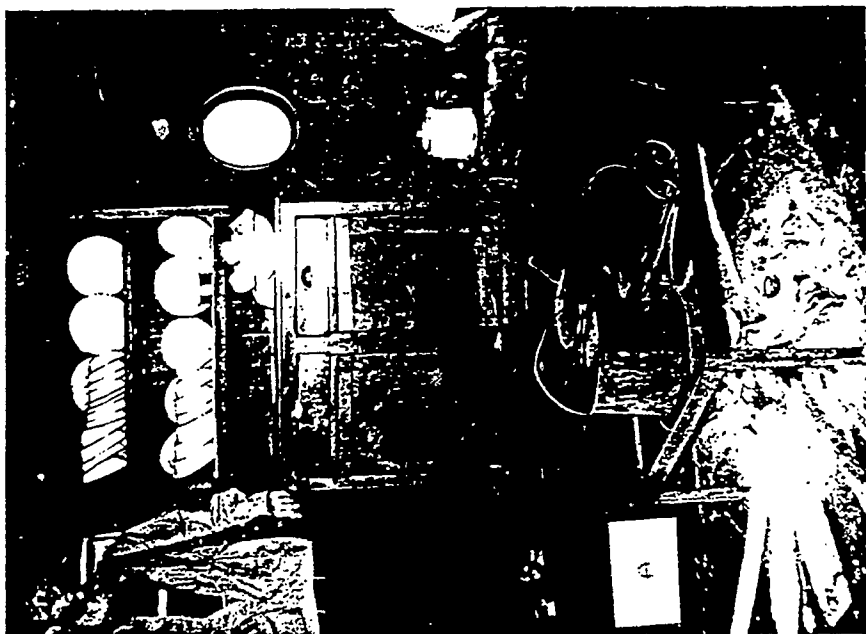
Travelling in Africa has indelibly marked me with images of the unique worlds that evolve as two disparate cultures collide. Graft, monetary greed, and incongruities due to cultural differences exist daily. Yet from the experiences I have had with the educational leaders, the indigenous people of all social ranks, and European Africans, I greatly admire these people for their efforts to attain higher educational standards and their persistence to survive economically during such difficult times. Perhaps the strongest commendation for my experience in Africa is that I would like to return for a longer stay - this time, as a teacher.

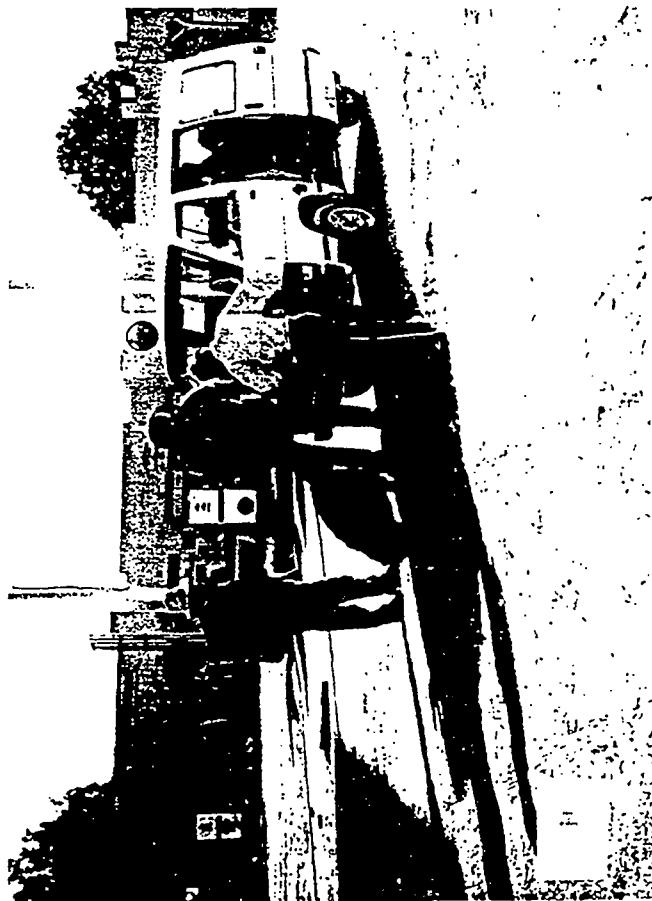
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CURRICULUM REVISION PROJECT

Submitted by Dorothy Sauber/Faculty
Anoka Ramsey Community College
11200 Mississippi Boulevard N.W.
Coon Rapids, Minnesota 55433

1991 FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINAR PARTICIPANT IN
"Social and Economic Change in Southern Africa"

COURSE TITLE: Art History/ Women and Art
and Women Artists, Women in Art, and Women's Art

ACADEMIC CATALOGUE OFFERINGS: Anoka Ramsey Community College
Metropolitan State University

COURSE PARTICIPANTS: Lower and Upper Division College
Humanities and Arts Students

COURSE DESCRIPTION: These courses are designed to introduce students to women's place in the development of art, aesthetics, and visual images. Through the use of critical and analytical tools of assessment students are encouraged to re-examine western traditions in the defining of art and artists. Attention is given to women artists throughout the ages and to women artists around the globe.

COURSE OBJECTIVES: In addition to learning about individual artists and art in relation to historical movements it is intended that students taking these courses will begin to develop an appreciation for the art and the issues surrounding it. Students will have been introduced to issues of gender as it relates to both individual women artists, images in art and what societies value as art.

COURSE REVISION / UNIT TITLED "Women Artists in Southern Africa"
(In particular women in Zimbabwe and Botswana)

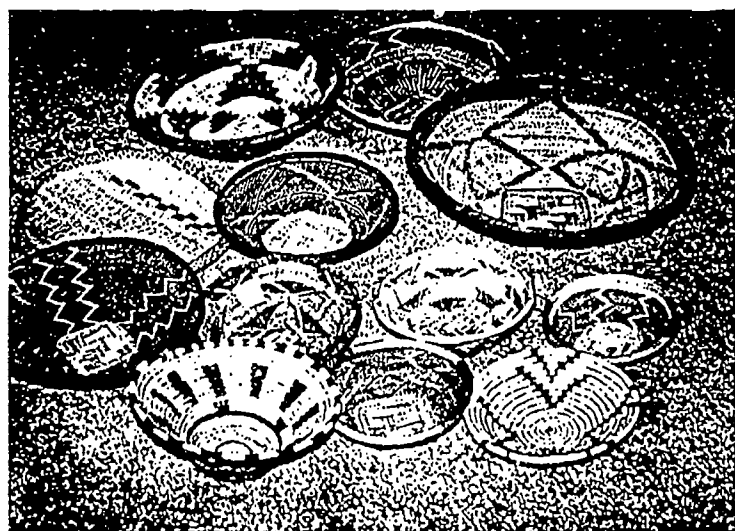
PRESENTATION OUTLINE

A. WOMEN AND TRADITIONAL SOUTHERN AFRICA ART FORMS

Women in Southern Africa, as across the African Continent, have been the means by which many traditional art forms have survived throughout the generations. Displacement, colonization, shifts from rural to urban life, and educational opportunities have and continue to threaten traditional ways of expressing community identity through items of daily use and ornamentation. Basketry, beadwork, and adornment of living structures remain as evidence of continuity and aesthetic appreciation of forms developed and passed on through the centuries.

EXAMPLES FOR PRESENTATION

1. Basket Weavers in Zimbabwe
2. Basket Weavers in Botswana
3. Beadwork in Northern Botswana
(Herrero Women)
4. Compound Painting in Southern Botswana



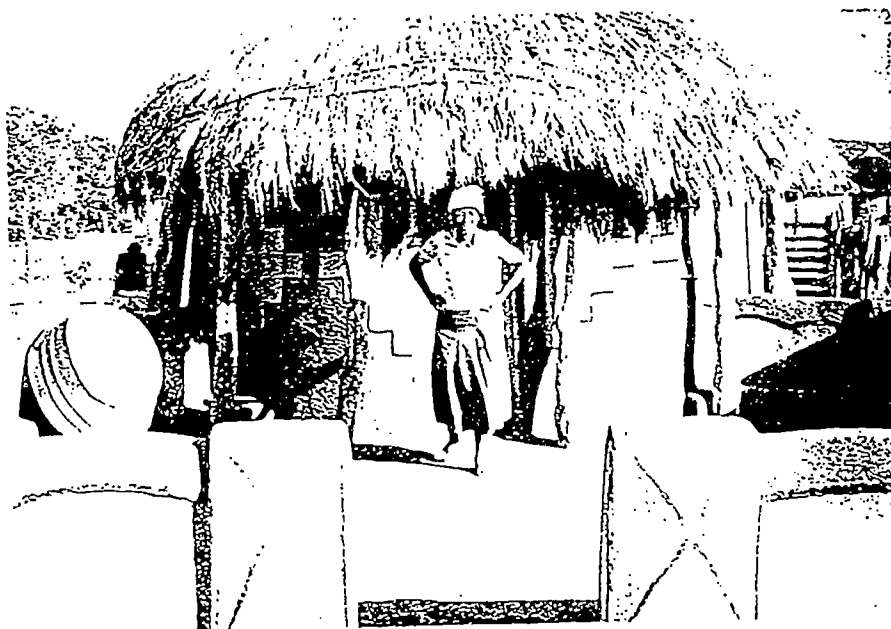
ZIMBABWE BASKETRY



BOTSWANA BASKETRY



HERRERO BEADWORK



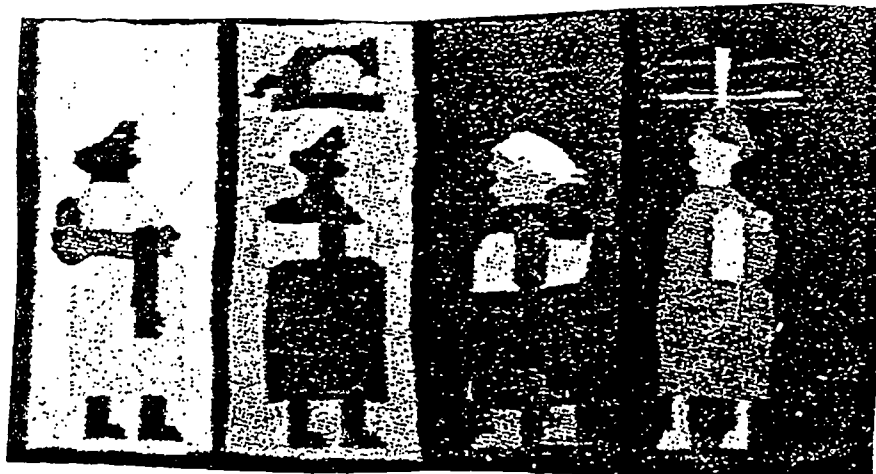
COMPOUND PAINTING IN SOUTHERN BOTSWANA

B. WOMEN'S ART AS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Increasing pressures are upon many African women to find new and feasible means to secure economic self reliance. Skills and art forms once primarily directed to home, community, and religious use are now being looked to for generating income to pay school fees, purchase food stuffs, seeds, and other necessities of rural and urban life. Women today, as in the past, are bannng together to create markets for their products, develop new techniques for external markets, and are using their collective artistic expressions to create better communities for themselves and their families.

EXAMPLES FOR PRESENTATION

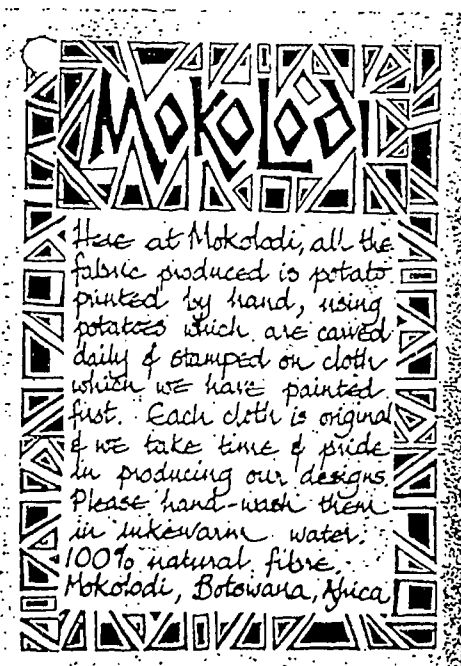
1. Oodi Women Weavers Collective in Botswana
2. Mokolodi Craft Cooperative in Botswana
3. Tie-dying in rural Zimbabwe villages



OODI WOMEN WEAVINGS



ZIMBABWE VILLAGE TIE-DYING

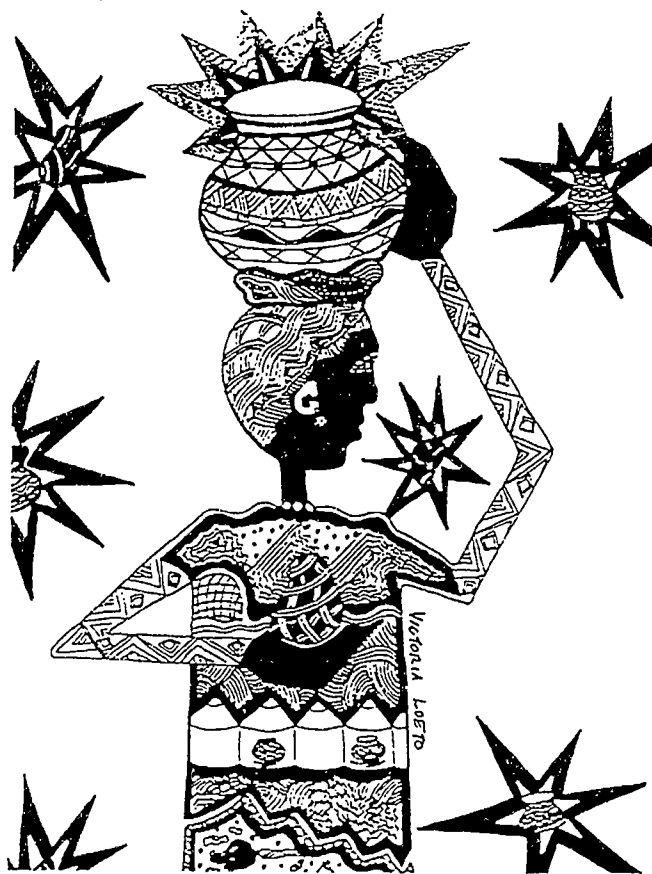


C. WOMEN AND CHANGING ART FORMS

Women in Southern Africa as elsewhere around the globe are being exposed and are exposing others to a wide variety of art forms and mediums. Paint, woodcuts, etching, textile painting, charcoal, pen and pencil drawing, plaster of paris sculptures are just some of the mediums being introduced in the school programs of Botswana. And with these alternative mediums come new blends of traditional and contemporary aesthetics. Because women are among the growing number of students at the secondary and post secondary levels their contributions will inevitable help shape the visual images for future generations.

EXAMPLES FOR PRESENTATION

1. San Textile Exhibit/ Kalahari San Kuru Development Trust
2. Graphics, Woodcuts, and other art form within the Art in the Botswana Schools Curriculum Project



BOTSWANA ARTS IN THE SCHOOLS PROJECT

VISUAL PRESENTATIONS TO ACCOMPANY DISCUSSION OF ABOVE

- * "Weaving Our Lives" - Slide/Tape show produced by the Participatory Research Project of Toronto
- * Slide presentation developed while on the 1991 Fulbright-Hays program in Southern Africa. Slides include basketry of Zimbabwe and Botswana, tie-dye cooperative in Zimbabwe rural village, Mokolodi women and their work, San exhibit at the National Art Museum in Gaborone, Botswana, Teacher Training College student work from Botswana, Compound building ornamentation in Botswana, Oodi Women Weavers factory and village projects, art from Mochudi village.

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BOTSWANA ARTS IN THE SCHOOLS PROJECT

**FULBRIGHT-HAYS SUMMER SEMINARS ABROAD
PROJECT REPORT**

**THE CHALLENGES OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE:
ZIMBABWE AND BOTSWANA**

by Donald G. Schilling
Denison University
Granville, Ohio
18 October 1991

INTRODUCTION

The literature treating education in contemporary Africa has taken on a distinctly pessimistic tone. In contrast to the enthusiastic assessments of education's transforming power which marked the first years of independence, more recent analyses raise serious questions about the efficacy of formal African educational systems as they now function.¹ The reasons for this disenchantment are not difficult to find. Development, as generally defined and advocated by western advisors, has proved a painful and illusive process. Given high levels of investment in formal educational systems and the assumption that this is a fundamental aspect of the development process, the failure of development has led some authors to argue that "formal education in Africa and Asia in its present form...is an obstacle to development."² The "school leaver problem" in particular stands for many as a graphic symbol of the failings of African educational systems.³ In addition critics have charged that unequal access to education has exacerbated economic inequalities, promoted social stratification, and widened the gap between rural and urban areas.⁴

¹For a discussion of this change see Kenneth King, *The African Artisan* (New York: Teacher College Press, 1977), 1-14.

²Theodore Hanf, Karl Ammann, Patrick V. Dias, *et al.*, "Education: An Obstacle to Development?," *Comparative Education Review*, 19:1 (1975), 68. On the general issue of the relationship between education and development see A.R. Thompson, *Education and Development in Africa* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981). For an incisive critique of the standard wisdom see Benju J.O. Anosike, "Education and Economic Development in Nigeria: the Need for a New Paradigm," *African Studies Review*, 20:2 (1977), 27-52.

³Each year thousands of students leave school seeking employment in white collar positions and the modern sector of the economy. Sufficient jobs of the kind desired simply do not exist to provide employment for these school leavers. A. Calloway, "Unemployment Among African School Leavers," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1:3 (1963), 541-71, was one of the first to call attention to the problem in the African context. See also M. Blaug, *Education and the Employment Problem in Development Problem in Developing Countries* (Geneva: ILO, 1973).

⁴David Court, "The Educational System as a Response to Inequality in Tanzania and Kenya," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 14:4 (1976), 661-90; Joel Samoff, "Education in Tanzania: Class Formation and Reproduction," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 17:1 (1979), 47-69; G.E. Hurd

While the problems of development are undoubtedly the product of complex causal factors, analysts have argued that educational systems themselves have been a significant causal factor. In support of this position critics maintain that the education systems of most African countries, as developed in the colonial period and modeled on those found in the metropole, have experienced surprisingly little fundamental change since independence. These systems, analysts contend, have an academic bias and give short shrift to technical and agricultural education, consequently denying the needs of African countries for competent technicians and progressive farmers. Observers also note the highly competitive examinations for advancement within these systems unduly, and often negatively, affect curricula and teaching methods. In addition current systems often fail to serve the majority of students since each educational level focuses on those who will go on for additional study. As a result most students, for whom each level constitutes the completion of their education, go into the job market with few practical skills but a strong desire for employment in the modern sector. Unable to find employment in a suitable position and reluctant to return to the rural areas these individuals swell the ranks of the unemployed.⁵ African societies are faced with the painful paradox that while they experience critical shortages of skills persons in particular fields many of the more educated in these societies are unable to find employment.

This summer as a participant in the Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program I spent six weeks of study and travel in Southern Africa. The topic of the seminar, "Social and Economic Change in Southern Africa", enabled me to undertake some preliminary assessment of the educational systems in Zimbabwe and Botswana in light

& J.J. Johnson, "Education and Social Mobility in Ghana," *Sociology of Education*, 40 (Winter 1967), 55-79.

⁵These themes are developed in James Sheffield, ed., *Education, Employment and Rural Development* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967); and David Court & D.P. Ghai, eds., *Education, Society and Development* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974).

of the concerns and issues articulated above.⁶ In this paper I want specifically to address the following topics: 1) the degree and nature of change in their educational systems since independence; 2) the dimensions of the school leaver problem in these two countries; 3) the steps being taken to address this and related problems; and 4) some assessment of those solutions.

TRANSFORMING THE COLONIAL LEGACY

The educational systems of both Zimbabwe and Botswana are at one level both products of the British colonialism and its legacy. The educational policy for British colonial Africa as emanating from London was shaped by two primary concerns. First, the eagerness to limit government expenditure led to the decision to let mission societies, assisted by government grants, assume the burden of educating Africans. Second, the desire to prevent the emergence of an alienated and politically dangerous, educated elite meant the attempt to structure formal educational systems so that they would be in general harmony with the political, social, economic and cultural patterns of the indigenous peoples on the one hand and the needs of the colonial system on the other.⁷ The application of these principles was not uniform but was informed by the particularities of the colonial system and experience in each state.

In Botswana, a protectorate (the Bechuanaland Protectorate), the Batswana enjoyed relative autonomy within the context of British indirect rule policies, but these plus the expectation of the protectorate's incorporation within the Union of South Africa and its apparent lack of economic resources led to the neglect of the territory including the system of education. Not until 1935, for example, did the protectorate

⁶The seminar spent two weeks in Zimbabwe, three weeks in Botswana, and a week in Malawi. Given our brief stay in Malawi and the relatively limited amount of evidence I was able to gather on education in that country, I have chosen not to attempt to incorporate it within this study.

⁷See L.J. Lewis, *Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa* (London, 1954); Donald G. Schilling, "British Policy for African Education in Kenya, 1895-1939," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1972), especially 1-82, 281-318.

acquire a full-time director of education, while secondary education could not be obtained within the territory until the mid-1950s. Education was grossly underfunded with notable impact on the availability of materials and the quality of teachers. In 1962 only four years before independence just 35 Batswana had university degrees, mostly earned in South Africa, Zimbabwe, or Lesotho.⁸

Given this state of affairs and the then favored manpower planning approach to educational development, the newly independent government in 1966 gave high priority to the development of secondary education. This, however, took place in the context of a weak primary system. As one commentator noted "few countries could have gotten away with so blithe a neglect of primary education."⁹ This emphasis continued into the early 1970s when popular pressure on the government and growing revenues led to more attention to primary education and the appointment of a national commission on education to assess the current situation and to chart the course of future educational development. The commission which carried out "the most comprehensive and broad study of education in Botswana"¹⁰ concluded that "[e]ducation may have grown much, but it has changed little."¹¹ To promote change the commission and the subsequent government white paper, *The National Policy on Education*, called for "greater equity, equality, and efficiency in education" and for more "relevance to the world of work."¹² Primary education would receive the highest priority with the goal

⁸For additional information see Jack Bermingham, "Perspectives on Colonial Education in Botswana," in A.T. Mugomba & Mougo Nyaggah, eds., *Independence without Freedom: The Political Economy of Colonial Education in Southern Africa* (Santa Barbara:ABC-Clio, 1980), 172-89.

⁹D. Jones, *Aid and Development in Southern Africa* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 108, as quoted in Michael J. Kahn, "Science Education Reform and the Dependency Paradigm," in Conrad W. Snyder, Jr., & Philemon T. Ramatsui, eds., *Curriculum in the Classroom* (Gaborone, Botswana: Macmillan Botswana Publ. Co, 1990), 147.

¹⁰Kahn, 149.

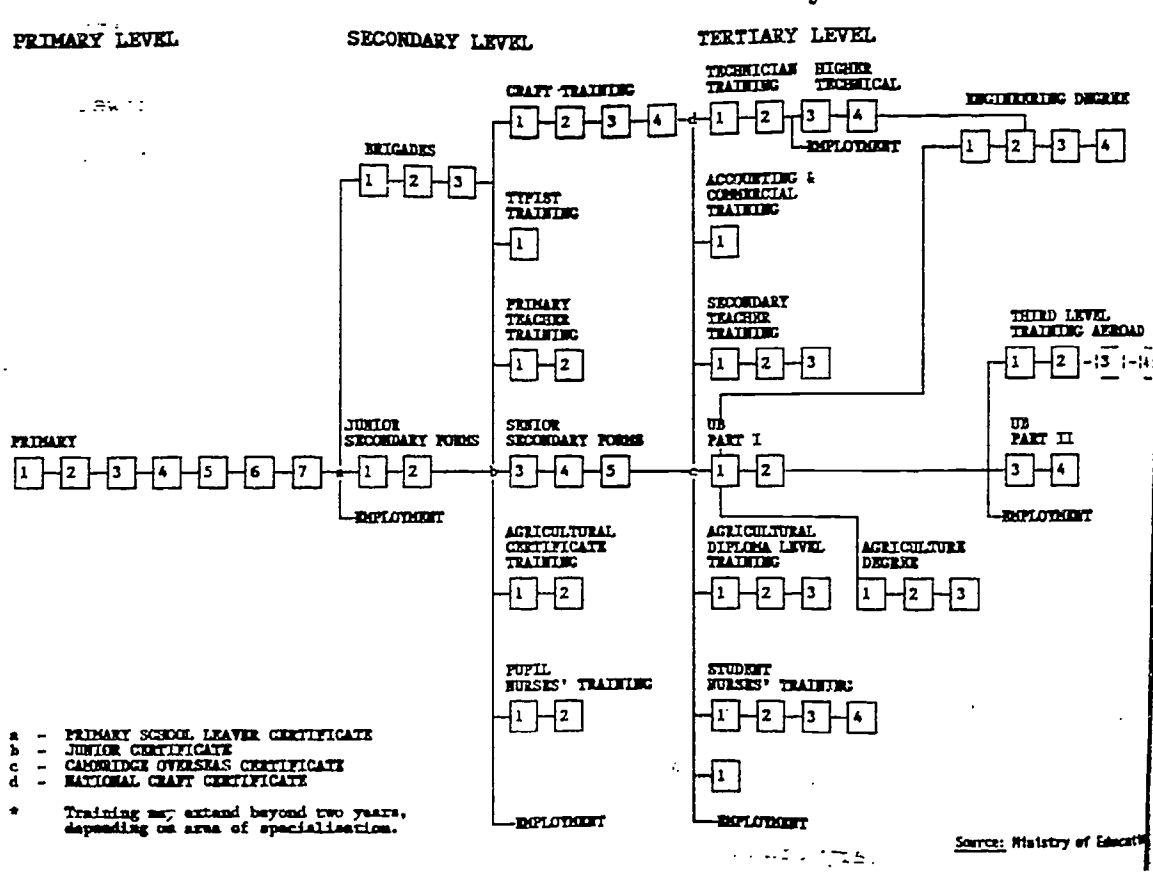
¹¹Republic of Botswana, *Education for Kagisano: Report of the National Commission on Education* (Gaborone, Botswana: Government Printer, 1977), 1.

¹²Kahn, 149.

of achieving nine years of basic education for all (seven years of primary school and two at the junior secondary level). While these tasks were interdependent (for example, the expansion of primary education could not occur without the enhancement of teacher training facilities and programs for primary school teachers), they also required some sequential implementation as dictated both by the logic of educational development and the financial resources available. That Botswana has been successful in creating a substantial educational system over the last fifteen years is in part due to the exploitation of mineral resources, especially diamond pipes at Orapa, Letlhakane, and Jwaneng. Mines were opened at these sites beginning in the early 1970s, a fact which helps explain the growth in per capita income from \$60 in 1966 to \$1,600 in 1990.¹³

Today Botswana has fashioned an educational system defined structurally in Figure 1 below:

FIGURE 1: Structure of the Educational System



At the primary level Botswana has made significant strides toward achieving its goal of universal primary education and of reducing the number of untrained teachers. In the years 1986 through 1989, for example, over 90% of the age group eligible for primary education (7 to 13 year olds) was in school, while the number of untrained teachers in primary schools had been reduced from 26% in 1985 to 16% in 1988.¹⁴ Substantial progress has also been made in reducing the bottleneck between primary and junior secondary school as the percentage of Standard 7 leavers who were admitted to Form 1 increased from 64% to 83% between 1984 and 1989. Entry into senior secondary schools remains more difficult as less than one student in three is able to move from Form 2 to Form 3.¹⁵ At the senior secondary level Botswana's lack of trained Botswana teachers is evident. Currently about 58% of the teachers are expatriots.¹⁶ For students who are unable to proceed to the senior secondary level there are alternative educational programs with an explicitly vocational focus. At the tertiary level the University of Botswana, enrolling roughly 2,450 students and open to those with a first and in some instances a second class pass on the external Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Exam, is the flagship institution. A variety of diploma and degree programs are also available in agriculture, education, technical education, and nursing.¹⁷ In sum Botswana has apparently made significant strides since the mid-1970s in increasing access to education, improving quality in many areas, and enhancing equity. Yet as Michael Kahn notes, "In fact, the actual picture is more complex, and an initial study suggests that there are seriously disadvantaged

¹⁴Republic of Botswana, *National Development Plan 7* (hereafter *NDP 7*), 1991-1997 (Draft, April 1991), Vol. II, (Gaborone, Government Printer, 1991), 109-10.

¹⁵*NDP 7*, II, 111-115.

¹⁶*NDP 7*, II, 148.

¹⁷*NDP 7*, II, 118, 122-24.

groups...whose existence is concealed when aggregate measures such as 'pass rate' are employed for comparative purposes."¹⁸

At the same time that Botswana has poured significant resources into the expansion of the educational system, it has also sought to develop curricula appropriate to the needs of the nation and to improve classroom pedagogy. As Felicity Leburu, Principle Curriculum Development Officer in the Botswana Ministry of Education, has noted:

Since societies change with time, we find that instructional programmes are dynamic, not static. They have to be developed to meet the changing needs and aspirations of individuals and societies. These needs are not simple, but complex. There are needs that relate to culture and those that relate and are influenced by the economic developments within a particular society. An instructional programme has to keep building into itself current knowledge and teaching methodologies. It has to select from the past the desirable aspects of culture and try to influence the development of those attitudes, values, and skills that society cherish (sic.).¹⁹

The emphasis of instructional change in the 1980s has been on "the conceptualization and planning of a practical and relevant Nine Years Basic Education Curriculum to cater for the broad range of student abilities" and the "provision of a practical and integrated basic education programme [which] would allow learners to better relate their educational experience to their environment, as well as facilitate skills transfer to their everyday lives."²⁰ With the assistance of two USAID funded projects, the Primary Education Improvement Project initiated in the early 1980s and the Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project begun in 1985, the Ministry of Education and its various divisions are working with teacher training institutions, in-service training programs, and in the creation of materials to develop learner centered classrooms characterized by active student participation, problems-solving, and use of

¹⁸Kahn, 155-6.

¹⁹"Forward" to Snyder & Ramatsui, eds., *Curriculum in the Classroom*, v.

²⁰"Preface" by Snyder & Ramatsui, eds., *Curriculum in the Classroom*, ix.

the project method. Not surprisingly these efforts mark only the beginning of a complex and challenging process of educational innovation.²¹

In contrast to the Batswana, the Shona and Ndebele peoples of Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) experienced the debilitating impact of a politically powerful white settler population which under Ian Smith took the radical step of a unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. If neglect was the primary characteristic of colonial policy in Botswana, exploitation of African resources, human and material, for the benefit of the settler population was the major theme in Zimbabwe. The educational system was designed essentially to train Africans to meet the labor needs of settlers and government and to restrict as much as possible African access to more advanced, academic education which was perceived as politically dangerous.²² The results of such a policy orientation were: (1) two strictly segregated systems with that for Africans grossly underfunded compared to that for whites; (2) a primary educational system accessible in the 1970s to less than half of the African children in the 6 to 13 year old cohort; and (3) a secondary system open to only a small proportion of those completing primary school. Only for that elite group of students who could complete Form 6 and pass the Cambridge Higher School Certificate did the segregated system end with entry to the University of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). While segregation was theoretically terminated by the Education Act of 1979, enacted just a year before the end of the war of liberation and the transition to legitimate independence, little in fact changed prior to the takeover of the Mugabe government.²³

²¹Presentations by Project Coordinators Max Evans of PEIP and Kent Noel of JSEIP to the Fulbright Seminar, 22 July 1991.

²²See Dickerson A. Mungazi, "A Strategy for Power: Commissions of Inquiry into Education and Government Control in Colonial Zimbabwe," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 22:2 (1989), 267-285. Mungazi does point out that the government/settler position was frequently in conflict with that of mission educators.

²³Harold D. Nelson, ed., *Zimbabwe: a country study* (Washington: Foreign Areas Studies, The American University, 1983), 125.

In the context of the liberation movement's commitment to the right of every child to an education, the Mugabe government had drastic changes to make in the system which it inherited from the colonial era and the Smith regime. The first task was to develop a single system of education to end racial segregation. The use of busing and changing residential patterns as middle class Africans moved into formerly white suburbs ended the existence of exclusively white public schools. Private schools, whose high fees screened out lower class Africans, were predominantly white but were prohibited from being exclusively so.²⁴

The rapid expansion of educational opportunity at all levels was a second priority of the new government. With the number of primary schools more than doubled and school fees eliminated, enrollment during the course of the decade increased from 40% to 93% of the eligible age cohort. An even more dramatic increase occurred at the secondary level where the number of schools grew from 177 in 1980 to 1514 in 1990 and the number of African students increased from approximately 66,000 to 700,000. At the University of Zimbabwe enrollment also rose from under 2,000 students in 1979 to 10,000 today.²⁵

Transformation of the curriculum was the third major target of the educational reform effort. The new curriculum, no longer shaped by the need to reinforce white minority rule, was now to promote the creation of a Zimbabwean national cultural accepting of the cultural pluralism within the country's borders; to strengthen education in science and technology; to base the teaching of history on an Afro-centric, thematic perspective; to promote an interdisciplinary approach to the solving of practical

²⁴Andrew Meldrum, "Lessons from Zimbabwe," *Africa Report*, (May-June, 1991), 16-17.

²⁵*Ibid.*; also presentation to the Fulbright Seminar by Mr. I. Sibanda, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, 2 July 1991.

problems; to relate the school curriculum to the community; and to advance scientific socialism through the teaching of political economy.²⁶

SCHOOL LEAVERS: WHAT IS A RELEVANT EDUCATION?

By giving high priority to the growth of their educational systems both Botswana and Zimbabwe are able to provide most of their youth with a basic education through the junior secondary level. If this growth has strained resources and required a greater employment of untrained teachers than desirable, it nonetheless represents a significant achievement for these nations. But this very success creates new problems, one of the most pressing being the growing number of unemployed school leavers. In Zimbabwe, for example, between 200,000 and 300,000 school leavers per year in the 1990s will come into a labor market which creates between 10,000 and 35,000 new jobs.²⁷ Large numbers of students whose educational level formerly qualified them for white collar employment in the modern sectors of the economy are finding they have no future there. If the situation in Botswana is not so acute, there is growing concern about the limited employment prospects facing those who leave the system after completing junior secondary school.²⁸

Aware of the massive school leaver problem in many other countries, Botswana has attempted to blunt its impact by shifting the emphasis in the nine years of basic education away from a singular emphasis on preparing students for the senior secondary schools. According to the new *National Development Plan 7*:

26Presentation to the Fulbright Seminar by Dr. Joe Vere, from the Curriculum Development Unit of the Ministry of Education, 4 July 1991. The latter aim encountered considerable resistance and has been quietly abandoned as the government itself moves Zimbabwe toward more market oriented strategies of development.

27The lower estimates come from Andrew Meldrum, "Lessons from Zimbabwe," *Africa Report*, (May-June, 1991), 16-17. The higher figures are from Jeffrey Herbst, "Political Impediments to Economic Rationality: Exploring Zimbabwe's Failure to Reform its Public Sector," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 27:1 (1989), 70.

28Presentation to the Fulbright Seminar by Dr. Patrick Molutsi, University of Botswana, 25 July 1991.

The aim of the new curriculum is to equip students with the basic skills, knowledge and attitudes that they will require after termination of formal education. The scope of practical subjects in the curriculum will be broadened and more emphasis will be placed on the practical aspects of other subjects.²⁹

The goal here is to influence attitudes, that is, to make students more willing to return to agricultural or other forms of manual work, and to develop "skills for self-reliance and self-sufficiency."³⁰ A second aspect of the government strategy is to provide more vocational training opportunities in agriculture and technical fields for those leaving the system at various levels (see Figure 1).

In Zimbabwe the school leaver problem has given new impetus to initiatives designed to vocationalize the curriculum at the secondary school level. Currently a number of pre-vocational subjects, such as automotive mechanics, are being introduced in thirty-nine schools on an experimental basis.³¹

The steps Botswana and Zimbabwe are taking to address the school leaver problem are part of a larger pattern. As Kazim Bacchus writes:

With increased secondary school enrollment in the Less Developed Countries over the past two decades the vocationalizing of the curriculum is gradually penetrating this level.... Here the main objective is to influence the occupational choices of the pupils away from white-collar jobs to which they have traditionally aspired and make them somewhat better prepared to work in other types of occupations.³²

If Botswana and Zimbabwe are taking a well trodden path in moving toward a vocationalization of basic education, that should not exempt the policy from critical

29150.

30Janet Robb, *et al.*, "Practical Curriculum for Emerging Technology," in Snyder & Ramatsui, eds., *Curriculum in the Classroom*, 136-7.

31Vere, 5 July 1991.

32"The Political Context of Vocationalization of Education in Developing Countries," in Jon Lauglo and Kevin Ellis, eds., *Vocationalizing Education: An International Perspective* (Oxford:Pergamon Press, 1988), 32.

scrutiny. Let me briefly raise several points of concern based on my observations in these countries and the more general literature on this subject.

Efforts to vocationalize basic education and to encourage more students to pursue vocational as opposed to academic options within the educational system have generally met with resistance on the part of African students and their parents. This seems also to be the case in Zimbabwe and Botswana.³³ There are logical reasons for such a response. First, there is the impact of the colonial legacy. As it developed in the colonial period western education was associated with "book learning" and this link remains strong. Furthermore, British educational policy for Africa sought to vocationalize education as a means of making African education more relevant to the needs of colonial society, better adapted to "traditional" African communities, and less dangerous politically. In the colonial context, therefore, Africans came to perceive vocational education as a political tool designed to limit their personal opportunities and to prevent the development of an African nationalist leadership educated to a European standard.³⁴ Not surprisingly efforts by the Smith regime in Rhodesia to vocationalize a sector of the secondary school system beginning in 1967 were greeted by considerable African suspicion and resistance. The program flopped.³⁵ Although both Zimbabwe and Botswana are now, of course, independent nations and the decision makers are no longer colonial or settler authorities, attitudes toward vocational education developed in the colonial period have proved difficult to overcome.

³³Comments to this effect were made in the presentations to the Fulbright Seminar in Zimbabwe by Mr. I. Sibanda, 2 July 1991, and Dr. Joe Vere, 5 July 1991, and in Botswana by Dr. Kent Noel, 22 July 1991.

³⁴For a more extensive discussion of these issues see Elsa Harik & Donald G. Schilling, *The Politics of Education in Colonial Algeria and Kenya* (Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies, 1984), 49-102.

³⁵Presentation by Dr. Joe Vere, 5 July 1991.

A second factor contributing toward negative attitudes toward vocationalizing education is the reward system. In Africa and for that matter in many parts of the world an academic education has been the route to prestigious and well paid white collar positions, especially in the civil service. In a very real sense, then, an academic education has been the most desirable of vocational educations. Despite the school leaver problem which makes the pay-offs of an academic education more problematic, the significantly greater financial and status rewards of pursuing academic education contributes to the still powerful attraction of an academic education.³⁶ Such is the attraction of academic education that students will pursue vocational education options in preference to leaving the formal system of education in the hopes of returning to the academic stream. In order to have any chance of success programs to vocationalize the educational system, therefore, must be linked to significant changes in the political economy of Africa. Simply put, this means achieving basic equality between rural and urban areas by providing similar essential services and by ending the special treatment which urban, large-scale industry enjoys. In addition, the substantial income differentials which distinguish employment in the modern from the traditional sector and in white-collar from manual labor positions must end. As Jon Lauglo and Anders Varman conclude:

Our research supports the view that the status of pre-vocational subjects will reflect, *inter alia*, the perception, that students and parents have of the labor market and training opportunities toward which such subjects point.³⁷

Given the high costs of vocational programs and their inability in the past to delivery much of what was hoped for in terms of new attitudes and relevant skill development, educational policy makers in both Zimbabwe and Botswana would be

³⁶Kazim Bacchus, "The Political Context of Vocationalization of Education in Developing Countries," in Lauglo & Ellis, eds., *Vocationalizing Education*, 40

³⁷"Diversified Secondary Education in Kenya: The Status of Practical Subjects and Their Uses After School," in *Ibid.*, 256.

well served to move cautiously in their efforts to vocationalize their respective educational systems and to place such initiatives in the context of broader social and economic reforms. Planners in Botswana seems sensitive to this issue acknowledging that "no one can foresee exactly what skills will be required ten or twenty years from now. This makes it more important to have an educational system that is flexible enough to adjust to changing demands...."³⁸ They also recognize the value of economic incentives, "Salaries for manpower in the artisan, technical and professional categories will reflect scarcity through higher entry salaries and parallel progression of those skills to the highest grades of the Civil Service."³⁹ Whether such individual policy recommendations reflect a coherent and comprehensive policy of educational, economic, and social reform is not fully evident, however.

CONCLUSION

In the fifteen years since the National Education Commission set the direction for Botswana's educational system and in the decade since Zimbabwe's independence both countries have engineered a remarkable expansion of their educational systems, dramatically increasing educational opportunity for all citizens. There is, of course, need for continued expansion of facilities to ease overcrowding and for on-going attention to teacher training to reduce the number of untrained and expatriot teachers. In addition both countries have moved to revise the inherited colonial, Euro-centric curricula, although here too the external examination system has imposed some restraints on change. Despite these significant achievements Botswana and especially Zimbabwe now face the dilemmas created by rapid educational expansion in the context of slower economic growth. Efforts to find solutions in vocationalization of the educational system without attention to the broader social, economic, and political

³⁸NPD 7, II, 134.

³⁹NPD 7, II, 136.

context seem likely to fail as they did in the colonial period. More comprehensive programs of reform are undoubtedly incredibly difficult to bring to fruition, yet there is room for hope that Zimbabweans and Batswana will find creative solutions to the intractable problems bequeathed by the colonial era and exacerbated by the very success of educational expansion.

Literature from Botswana and Zimbabwe

A number of inroads have been made into literature from Africa, particularly works from West and East Africa. Writers like Achebe, Soyinka, and Ngugi are standard reading for students at almost any level of African culture. For some reason, American education predominately restricted its initial pursuit to the western and eastern regions of Africa. Although literature from Botswana and Zimbabwe is newer to most Americans, it also deserves inclusion with programs that already encourage multi-cultural enrichment.

One of the first tasks in tackling new areas of literature study is selection. For the practical-minded, it's disheartening to read a book and discover it doesn't thrill you enough to place it within your canon of mandatory books to teach. One of the basic requirements of good teaching is book selection, and sometimes it is an activity to which we devote the least amount of time. The right book in the right teacher's hand has wonderful sustaining power because if the match is perfect, the book is essentially an extension of the teacher. If such compatibility can be achieved, I can think of no better impetus for solid teaching.

The following comments are offered as guidelines for selecting books from these regions. I will readily add, however, that I'm cautioned, and you should be as well, by the quote that states, "Critics are like eunuchs in a harem: they know how it's done; they've seen it done every day, but they're unable to do it themselves."

From Zimbabwe:

The House of Hunger, Dambudzo Marechera. (Heinemann)

This novel is useful only if you want to feel the rage of a writer consumed by anger. Anger is a valid message, but you sense the book is a therapeutic exercise for the writer and a monotonous ordeal for the reader. His characters aren't real; they're merely mouthpieces of his frustrations. There's also very little "stealable material" for other writers. Marechera lures the reader into a semblance of order and setting, then releases his verbal acid, destroying the order in the process. In this novel, he writes like a sophist, name-dropping Western artists and ranting about injustice but never implying causes and cures. What is amazing about his writing is the multiple dimensions of his rage; it keeps going on and on. It either feeds on itself, or it's fathomless.

Black Sunlight, Dambudzo Marechera. (Heinemann)

If you want to read a novel by an author who writes about revolution like a young Westerner - hip, frivolous, and flippant - this novel is for you. The plot is adolescently contrived, and the setting lacks a strong sense of place, a prerequisite of readers who enjoy foreignness in their novels. The writer has

fun at the reader's boredom. Marechera still doesn't understand his rage and confusion. He offers angst rather than mature, political insight into Zimbabwe's problems. His writing style is snotty, spoiled, and effete; the principal reaction of the reader is Huh? and Ugh!

Bones, Chenjerai Hove. (Heinemann)

Poetically told and complex enough to merit more than a first-time reading, Bones deals with the struggle of Marita, a farm worker, who tries to save her son from the freedom fighters and the war of liberation. Told by multiple narrators, Bones is more suitable for students with advanced skills and taste in literature.

The Setting Sun and the Rolling World, Charles Mungoshi. (Beacon)

Mungoshi's stories in The Setting Sun and the Rolling World are concave-shaped: he lures you into his world with suggestion, strongly re-enforcing the notion of possibility, as growing-up stories should do. Topic concern death of family members, childhood hunting tales, dismissal from school, home leaving, clashes between city and rural values, and clashes between blacks and whites. His writing strikes you more as a nostalgic tales than full-blown stories, but they all are highly recommended for the ninth-grade reader and older. You finish these stories with a vivid feeling for people and change, the universality of mankind, and a palatable, but not overstated, awareness of their placement in Zimbabwe.

Nervous Conditions, Tsitsi Dangarembga. (The Seal Press, Seattle)

What distinguishes Nervous Conditions is its wonderful narrative style. It flows along, progressively engaging you in its coming-of-age story about two women. Tambu and Nyasha combat a patriarchal society and colonial heritage with commendable determination. The novel illustrates the spirit of how African women are beginning to assert themselves. The story is also laced with insights into Zimbabwean family life and education. It is also worthwhile to note that the author's father, who is portrayed unrealistically as a ramrod, chauvinistic headmaster, is the present director of the Harare International Conference Centre. Two teachers formerly under his supervision are Mr. and Mrs. Stanislaus Garikayi Chigwedere. Mr. Chigwedere is the present Zimbabwean ambassador to the United States. Reading the book and having them discuss it with your class would be a very rewarding experience. Recommended for tenth graders and older.

From Botswana:

When Rain Clouds Gather, Bessie Head. (Heinemann)

Bessie Head frequently deals with the theme of the outsider who seeks acceptance in a new society. This idea mirrors her own life in that she was born in South Africa and immigrated to Botswana

where she remained with the precarious status of "refugee" for fifteen years. Her novels often focus on the social relationships in rural Botswana. In When the Rain Clouds Gather, the central character is an outsider from South Africa trying to integrate into a small community and to start a new life. Topics also include the role of authority, the relationship between people and their environment, and the harshness of the land. Rain, for instance, is so important that the Setswana word for it, "pula", refers to Botswana currency or "good luck." Head also uses the sun as a symbol. The drought mentioned in the setting occurred in 1965-1966 and wiped out 200,000 cattle. Her stories, such as "Life," "Snapshots of a Wedding," and "The Wind and the Boy," also relate to the themes of When the Rain Clouds Gather. These stories are found in Head's The Collector of Treasures (Heinemann).

Maru, Bessie Head. (Heinemann)

Maru is a story about two young chiefs who fall in love with the same woman, a school teacher who also belongs to the despised Masarwa (Bushmen) tribe. The novel depicts the racism within black society and shows that love between man and woman is a means of overcoming prejudice. The idea of black-on-black malice is intriguing, but what blemishes the novel is the character Maru. He is only half-drawn and represents a god-like wisdom that exceeds our understanding. Even his own people say while shaking their heads, "Maru is always impossible" (6). In addition, gaps abound in the story so that events do not consistently mesh. It is helpful to realize that Head takes the last six pages of the narrative and places them at the beginning. Despite these flaws, Maru is a book that ought to be read because of its provocative treatment of prejudice and its focus on the Masarwa. Recommended for eleventh graders and older.

Other Works

Zimbabwe:

The Grass is Singing, Doris Lessing. Heinemann, 1973.

Waiting for the Rain, Charles Mungoshi. Heinemann, 1975.

A Son of the Soil, Wilson Katiyo. Longman.

Growing Up With Poetry, An Anthology for Secondary Schools, David Rubadiri. Heinemann.

The Black Insider, Dambudzo Marechera. Baobab, 1990.

Botswana:

A Question of Power, Bessie Head. Heinemann.

Serowe: Village of the Rain Wind, Bessie Head. Heinemann.

The Collector of Treasures, (short stories), Bessie Head. Heinemann.

A Woman Alone, Bessie Head. Heinemann, 1990. A new collection of autobiographical writings

Background Reading for Botswana and Zimbabwe

Khama of Botswana, Anthony J. Dachs. Heinemann Educational, 1971.
-general background, historical information, photographs

Praise-Poems of Tswana Chiefs, Isaac Schepera. Oxford University Press, 1965.
-background material on Tswana society

A History of Southern Africa, N.E. Davis. Longman, 1978.

The Africans, David Lamb. Vintage, 1987.
-a journalist's account of African countries. Good reading although most of it does not pertain just to Botswana and Zimbabwe

National Geographic, December 1990.
-Botswana is featured

lost World of the Kalahari, Laurens Van der Post. Pyramid Publications, 1972.

The Politics of Reconciliation: Zimbabwe's First Decade, Victor De Waal. David Philip, 1990.

The Flogging of Phineas McIntosh, Michael Crowder. Yale University, 1991.

Whites, Norman Rush. Knopf, 1986. (short stories). This collection explores, according to George Packer, "the moral and spiritual quandary of middle-class foreigners who happen to be stuck out in Botswana."

Mating, Norman Rush. Knopf, 1989.

Critical Works, Journals, and Biographical Material

Southern Africa Literature: An Introduction, Stephen Gray. David Philip/Rex Collings, 1979.

African Literature Today, (journal), ed. Eldred D. Jones. Heinemann Educational Books.

Journal of Commonwealth Literature, eds. Alastair Niven and Angus Calder.

A Handbook For Teaching African Literature, Elizabeth Gunner. Heinemann, 1987.

Images of Women in Zimbabwean Literature, Rudo Gaidzanwa. College Press, 1985.

A Gesture of Belonging, ed. Randolph Vigne. Southern African Writers, 1991. Letters from Bessie Head to Vigne, a close friend, from 1965-1979.

Films

Chimurenga (The War in Zimbabwe), 1977. 51 mins. Made by Morena Films.

Moving On: The Hunger for Land in Zimbabwe, 1982. 52 mins. Distributed by California Newsreel. This film contrasts a black community barely eking out an existence on poor soil and an affluent white family employing modern farming techniques on lush acres.

Bitter Melons. color, 30 mins. Royal Anthropological Institute Film Library. An account of the daily life of the Gwi San of Botswana.

Neriah, 1991. Directed by Godwin Mahuru. Jesese Mungoshi plays the title character. Filmed entirely in Zimbabwe. Crew and cast are all Zimbabwean. A film that deals with property inheritance rights for women whose spouses have died.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM: THE GREAT ZIMBABWE RUINS

A PROJECT IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE FULBRIGHT-HAYS SEMINARS ABROAD PROGRAM

DONALD L. SMITH

PARTICIPANT, GROUP SEMINARS ABROAD,
"SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA", JUNE - AUGUST, 1991

A nation's history is often looked upon as a key element in the efforts of a government to create a strong sense of unity among its people. The need for a common thread to bind together a country's population is most apparent, the cement to bring together all of the social, political, and economic "bricks" to build a sense of worth and belonging so critical to the creation and sustaining of a state and its people.

The past history of a country can have a profound impact on the direction of its future, and archaeological investigation can bring to light much information about the historical development of a nation and its people.

Until recently, the history of sub-Saharan Africa was "dressed" in the colors of the European colonial powers that controlled the area for 500 years. Particularly, the archaeological heritage of the area was ignored by the Europeans or worse, systematically destroyed and its true nature and origins denied.

Such was the case in Zimbabwe, and perhaps nowhere else in sub-Saharan Africa was archaeology both used and misused in the pursuit of nationalism as well as racism.

The focal point of this centers on the Great Zimbabwe Ruins archaeological site, a complex of stone walls, towers and an elaborate acropolis located near Masvingo, approximately one hundred and ten miles south of the capital of Zimbabwe, Harare. Modern archaeological evidence indicates this was the capital of the Bantu empire known as Monomotapa, which flourished between the 14th and 15th centuries.

The first known European report of the ruins comes from a 16th century Portuguese historian ".... named Joao de Barros (who).... described a 'fortress, masonry within and without, built of stones of marvellous size....",¹

The ruined fortress, located in a valley, is roughly 830 feet long, consisting of a somewhat elliptical stone wall, from 16 to 35 feet high, containing within it lower stone walls and passages and is dominated by a solid stone tower approximately 18 feet in diameter and 30 feet high. To the north of the valley complex, occupying the crest of a 200 foot high granite outcrop, is an elaborate acropolis with several stone enclosures backed by huge boulders. Situated within these enclosures are numerous walls, rooms, small towers and steps. Archaeologically, Great Zimbabwe is unique, the largest ancient stone structure in sub-Saharan Africa and....

.... is an architecture of freedom. The walls are not restricted by the need to carry roofs, rafters or domes. They can flow over the landscape in a harmony of curves echoing the natural forms of boulder or hill, the sculptural curves of hut, pot or carving. The craftsmen developed their own solutions to age-old problems of engineering.... There is no mortar. Small light walls are not tied into their big neighbors but lean loosely against them. So as the earth adjusts and sinks beneath the weight of stone, the walls are flexible and do not easily crack and fall. The style is unique. A most beautiful example of this is the way that steps are made with an intricate set of changing curves. Nowhere else in the world have steps been designed this way.²

The Portuguese and subsequent Europeans who viewed the ruins did not attribute the building of Great Zimbabwe or additional ancient sites

1. Brian M. Fagan, The Adventure of Archaeology (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1985), pg. 328.

2. Peter S. Garlake, Life at Great Zimbabwe (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1982), pg. 18.

found in Zimbabwe to Black Africans, feeling that such superior workmanship was not possible by the seemingly primitive native cultures they encountered.

The Portuguese explorers credited the inhabitants of Biblical Ophir, the land that yielded the gold from "King Solomon's mines", for the construction of Great Zimbabwe. "In 1871 a German geologist named Karl Mauch visited the ruins of Great Zimbabwe and immediately attributed them to the Phoenicians who returned with Ophir's gold."¹

It was the false association with Solomon's gold that led to the destruction of the site by the English after they had occupied southern Africa in the mid-1800's. Cecil John Rhodes, the English diamond magnate sought concessions to mine for gold in Mashonaland (Zimbabwe). He was granted a charter for his company, the British South Africa Company, and established a station in Harare in 1890.²

Rhodes soon named the area for himself and his company began the search for gold. From the local inhabitants the English learned of the possibility of gold hidden in the ancient sites that the locals referred to as "zimbabwes", a term in the Shona language meaning "venerated houses" or a chief's grave.³

1.Fagan, pg. 331.

2.N. E. Davis, A History of Southern Africa (Essex: Longman Group Ltd., 1978), pg. 90.

3.Julie Frederikse, None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in The Making of Zimbabwe (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1982), pg. 351.

What followed was the destruction of many of the zimbabwe's by the English in a search for gold.

During September 1895, W.G. Neal, George Johnson, F. Leech and J. Campbell brought into Bulawayo a consignment of ancient jewellery weighing some 5.2 kg. On March 3 1896, they formed the Ancient Ruins Company in whose name much of this destruction occurred. What means they employed to gather this hoard were not disclosed. Thereafter the Company proceeded to exploit all remains of ancient cultures to be found within the lands allocated to them by the British South Africa Company.¹

Additional finds of gold necklaces, rings, tacks, chains and beads were discovered in numerous zimbabwe's across the region, and later, the directors of the Company authorized the destruction of grave sites, the taking of gold rings, necklaces and bangles from corpses, as well as gold inlaid funeral furniture.² These artifacts were melted down and sold to Rhodes.

What non-gold artifacts that were found in the sites were often packed off to private collections or sent to museums in South Africa. Of particular importance were numerous stone sculptures of birds, found at Great Zimbabwe and termed "zimbabwe birds". These carvings were believed to be totem's or "mutupo" and "...is very likely that the sculptures at every important entrance and on top of every great wall reminded visitors of the mutupo, and ancestors of the king. Perhaps, indeed, they were symbolic images of the ancestors themselves, sculp-

1. Henrik Ellert, The Material Culture of Zimbabwe (Harare: Longman Zimbabwe (Pvt) Ltd, 1984), pg. 1.

2. Ellert, Ibid.

tured links between earth and sky, man and his origins."¹ Eight of these sculptures, the only remaining examples following the rampant destruction, ended up in a museum in South Africa.

This shameful destruction continued until 1903, when criticism of it led to a revoking of the Ancient Ruins Company charter by Rhodes himself.

The belief that Great Zimbabwe was not a product of Black Africans was perpetuated by Rhodes' British South Africa Company. Richard Hall, a journalist, was hired by the company as the curator of the site in 1902.

Hall's idea of preserving the ruins was to obliterate archaeological deposits (by removing).... "the filth and decadence of the Kaffir (black) occupation." Hall declared that Great Zimbabwe had been built by Semitic colonizers...., then later occupied by Phoenicians, and in modern times by "bastard races" descended from the original builders and local Africans.²

In the early part of the 20th century modern archaeological methods were used at Great Zimbabwe, trying to recover what information could be recovered despite the deplorable past destruction of the site. Randall-MacIver visited the site and concluded Great Zimbabwe was ".... 'essentially of African origin and of no great antiquity.' In 1929.... archaeologist Gertrude Caton-Thompson studied the site. She, too, concluded that black Africans had built Great Zimbabwe in medie-

1. Garlake, pg. 20.

2. Fagan, pg. 331.

val times."¹

These disclosures had little impact on the opinions of most whites in southern Africa who continued to hold to previous beliefs about the origins of Great Zimbabwe.

Such racist misconceptions persisted through the years even when subsequent excavations and the use of radio-carbon dating indicated that Great Zimbabwe was built after 1000 A.D. and was probably a product of the Bantu cultures who migrated into the region in the 9th century.

Scientific dating shows that building in stone had started at Great Zimbabwe by 1200 A.D. The city reached its greatest wealth and power about 1350 A.D. It had lost all its importance by 1500 A.D. All of the objects found in the ruins prove it was built by local Shona-speaking people.²

When the white regime under Ian Smith declared Rhodesia independent in 1965, rather than agree to black majority rule, the Great Zimbabwe ruins became a key symbol in the fight for black nationalism. Black political organizations took their names from the ruins, and, as well, books, periodicals and newspapers advocating black rule used the word "Zimbabwe" in titles in referring to Rhodesia itself.

During the civil war that followed, the white government countered the use of the symbolism by censoring references to Zimbabwe and waging a

1.Fagan, pgs. 331-332.

2.Garlake, pg. 2.

campaign to discredit any evidence linking the Great Zimbabwe ruins with a black culture. School books, magazine and newspaper articles and even the archaeologists of Zimbabwe were used in this attempt, that continued from 1965 until 1979.

From a book published in 1972;

Without capital, and without the collaboration necessary to create capital, no great urban and technological civilization can be achieved. Therefore the already-ruined civilization,.... noted in the sixteenth century could not have been the product of the Bantu then, or at an earlier period. They had not yet arrived at such a state of evolution.... possible for them to be architects and organizers of such immense public works.¹

Magazine article, 1976:

WHAT IS ZIMBABWE?

(a) An interesting complex of ruins, of uncertain origin, near Fort Victoria?

(b) The black nationalist and Communist name for Rhodesia, designed to denigrate Cecil John Rhodes and the white founders of the country?

(c) Old ruins which serve no useful purpose, the symbol of which is a queer bird which does nothing but squat, gazing blankly into the distance, as it slowly decays?

(d) The future name for Rhodesia?²

Interview with Paul Sinclair, curator of archaeology based at Zimbabwe:

I was the archaeologist stationed at Great Zimbabwe. I was told.... to be extremely careful about talking to the press about the origins of the Zimbabwe state. I was told that.... the government was pressuring them (the museum service) to withhold the correct information. Censorship of guide books, museum displays, school textbooks, radio programmes, newspapers and films was a daily occurrence. Once.... (I was) threatened.... with losing my job if I said publicly that blacks had built Zimbabwe.... It was the first time since Germany in the thirties that archaeology has been so directly censored.³

1. Lord Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, The Origins of The Zimbabwe Civilization as quoted in Frederikse, pg. 10.

2. Property and Finance, December, 1976 as quoted in Frederikse, pg. 10.

3. Frederikse, pg. 11.

Interview with Tom Huffman, senior curator of archaeology, Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury (Harare):

We wanted to indicate to the average man.... what the evidence was, to give them the facts of Zimbabwe's origins, and.... we met opposition. they wanted us to omit any mention of radio carbon dates.... which would give the lie to other stories. Their thinking went like this: 'If we accept blacks could do something like that then, we must give them majority rule now,'¹

Speech by a member of the Rhodesian Parliament, September, 1969:

I rise briefly to draw the attention.... to a seeming trend.... in relation to the history of the Great Zimbabwe Ruins. There is one trend running.... promoting the notion that these ruins were originally erected by the indigenous people of Rhodesia. I feel that it is quite wrong that this trend should be allowed to continue.... This trend.... to portray the ruins in one light only, that of being of Bantu origin should be corrected.²

Despite these attempts to destroy the true origins of the builders of Great Zimbabwe the black populace, for the most part did not accept the reasoning set forth in the propaganda espoused first by the Europeans and later by the Ian Smith Rhodesian regime. More and more the ruins were seen by blacks as as an important symbol.

This was a major issue, the whites saying that Africans were incapable of building something like this. For the freedom fighters this became a major symbol that people were using to rally behind. This is what we are defending! This is the people's heritage!³

Said Winnie Paradza, a mission hospital nurse, "The Europeans said that they discovered the ruins, that it wasn't African people who built them. But our old grannies, they're the ones who know better.

1.Frederikse, pg. 12.

2.Frederikse, pg. 11.

3.Interview with Dr. Peter K. Dzvimbo, Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe Ruins, July 7, 1991.

I just didn't believe all the things I was taught in school."¹

Just look at any of those history books we had to use. Our history seemed to start with the missionaries coming because they felt that they wanted to save the people from ignorance.... Those kind of text-books deal with our past history as something deplorable.-
Ropa Rhinopfuka, ZANU Research Unit²

Following the war for independence, and with black majority rule the Great Zimbabwe ruins emerged in it's true light; the capital city of a superb and technologically advanced Bantu civilization. Rhodesia became "The People's Republic of Zimbabwe", the zimbabwe bird incorporated into it's flag and other government symbols. After lengthy negotiations with the South African government the eight stone zimbabwe birds were returned to the people of Zimbabwe in 1981 and are now housed in the museum at the ruins.

The ruins themselves are today the heart and soul of Zimbabwe, a source of pride and inspiration for it's people, both black and white. They stand as a reminder, not only of the great culture that produced them, but as a lasting monument and beacon of the triumph of knowledge, equality and national sacrifice over ignorance, racism and self-interest.

Q. What do these ruins mean to the country and to the people of Zimbabwe?

A. They symbolize that spiritual "oneness" with the past. They also symbolize, for us, how people in this part of the world were able to develop civilizations that were, in station and in style, equal to other civilizations around the world.³

1.Frederikse, pg. 13.

2.Frederikse, pg. 9.

3.Interview with Dr. Peter K. Dzvimbo, Dean, Faculty of Education, Univeristy of Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe Ruins, July 7, 1991.

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THE LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN BOTSWANA

by Sharon "Nyota" Tucker

The current legal situation of women in Botswana is not reflected in the progress made by the government of Botswana since independence in 1966. Even the Constitution of Botswana, which theoretically guarantees every person in Botswana certain basic rights and freedoms, excludes sex as one of the grounds upon which an action alleging discrimination can be based. Women in Botswana are relegated to second-class citizenship in virtually every aspect of Tswana society. This status is impacted by not only the legal systems which govern, but by traditions, customs and strongly held cultural and religious attitudes as well. Despite the relevance of such factors, this paper will limit its review of the current legal position of women in Botswana by exploring only the impact that some laws and the legal systems have on the rights of women.

To obtain an understanding of how the legal systems impact upon the rights of women in Botswana, one must first recognize the dichotomous nature of the law in Botswana, and the various consequences that flow from such condition. The customary law consists of the laws and practices of the indigenous peoples who inhabited the area prior to the colonization by the British government in 1885. Paternalistic in nature, customary law is administered by males who ascribe a distinct division of labor between males and females and who recognize the male as both the social and legal head of his household. Customary law is used primarily in all civil matters between "tribesmen," unless the parties agree otherwise or in the instance when the matter under

controversy is unknown to customary law. The general law of Botswana, initially intended to apply only to the European population, finds its origin in Roman-Dutch law. Even though the dual legal system was retained, even after independence, and continues to operate primarily along racial lines, Africans who opt out of customary law in situations involving marriage, may have their cases resolved through the application of general law. The effect of this dual nature (as well as further confusion regarding what law should govern) on the rights of women is that it places an unreasonably high financial burden on any woman who must seek the assistance of legal counsel in order to obtain legal relief.

MARITAL POWER.

Customary law. Customary marriages are characterized by family arrangements--agreements generally worked out by the families of the prospective spouses; and the transfer of bogadi, though bridewealth is no longer a legal requirement. The husband is given a position of superiority to his wife: he is the head of the family and is recognized as his wife's guardian; he makes all final decisions in relation to family and other matters and must represent his wife in any legal suits and assist her in entering contracts; he is free to choose another mate, while such action by the wife would be grounds for divorce; and although the wife is entitled to use of the family property and may have legal rights to her personal property, it is the husband who owns cattle and land. The size of a man's bogadi also confers on a man a comparable

measure of control to chastise his wife, as well as transfer to the husband's family power over the couple's children when the marriage ends by death or divorce. When marriage ends, either through divorce or death, women's proprietary interests take a back seat to the interests of their husbands and his family.

General law. Under Botswana statutory laws, women can choose between marriage in or out of community of property. Both have serious legal impediments for women. Although community of property gives women a half share in the joint estate of their spouses, only the husband has sole power to administer the property. This means that the husband may incumber or sell the property without consent of the wife, but the wife, who in this instance is legally regarded as a minor, may not enter into any contracts with regard to the joint property without her husband's consent.¹

Women who choose to marry out of community of property are free to acquire and dispose of their property without restriction--i.e., they are free to contract and litigate without the husband's consent or need for the husband's representation. However, even for women who marry out of community of property, the husband is still the head of the family, the guardian of the children, and he has the authority to decide on the family's domicile. And in a

¹The wife is permitted to contract without her husband's consent under the following circumstances: for the purchase of household necessities; acting as a public trader in connection with her business; with the substituted consent of the court; and/or in the opening and operation of a savings account or other bank account.

practical sense, women who marry out of community of property tend to be at a greater financial disadvantage than those women who marry in community property because of societal and cultural expectations. These women, though free to acquire and dispose of their separate property without restriction, tend to spend their separate incomes on household perishables and other household-related expenses--intangible property that cannot be divided when the marriage is dissolved. The woman who works only as a housewife and who does not earn an independent income outside the home is also in peril because there she has no ownership rights to property accumulated during the marriage (all property belongs to the husband) and thus, she is deprived of sharing in the family property at the dissolution of the marriage.

DIVORCE.

Customary law. Men can divorce their wives on grounds which are unavailable to women: infidelity, barrenness, repeated adultery, sorcery, refusal to perform household chores, and other forms of insubordination.² A wife cannot divorce her husband on the grounds of infidelity and cruelty unless the behavior is excessive.³

General law. Marriages consummated under statutory or common law may be dissolved whenever the marriage has broken down irretrievably. Problems arise, however, when the parties are

²Stewart, Julie and Alice Armstrong, eds. The Legal Situation of Women in Southern Africa. Vol. II. University of Zimbabwe Publications, Harare, Zimbabwe, 1990, p.20.

³Ibid, p. 20.

married under both the customary and statutory systems; it is unclear whether dissolution under one system automatically dissolves the consequences under the other. Family elders who participated in the transferring of bogadi have been known to refuse to relinquish control or custody of grandchildren to a mother to whom custody has been awarded, arguing that bogadi must first be returned.

EMPLOYMENT LAW.

Employment law in Botswana is reminiscent of protectionist legislation that dominated the workforce in the United States during the '20's and '30's. The Botswana 1982 Employment Act (Chapter 47:01) which is the principal regulator of employment in the private sector, permits disparate treatment of women in certain employment endeavors. Section 115 of the act provides that no female employee shall be employed on underground work in a mine unless she

- a. is holding a managerial position and does not perform manual labor;
- b. is employed in a health or welfare service;
- c. spends a period of training in the underground parts of a mine in the course of her studies; or
- d. occasionally is required to enter the underground parts of a mine for purposes other than manual labor.⁴

Women's groups have attacked this policy, arguing that the mining industry constitutes a large sector of formal wage

⁴Employment Act, part XII: Employment of Females.

employment in Botswana, and thus, Section 115 excludes women from these employment opportunities, and perpetuates the economic dependence of women on men. Under Chapter 4, Section 13, of the Mines, Quarries, Works and Machinery Act, even the surface work of women at mines may be declared unlawful if the Minister of Labor believes such work is or is likely to be injurious to their health.⁵

The Employment Act also forbids the employment of women in any agricultural or industrial undertaking during the night without their consent.⁶ Intended also to be protective and prevent women from being exploited and exposed to danger in heavy industrial and night work, the Employment Act, women argue, is unjustified since women are employed at night as a matter of course in poorly paid public service occupations.

The majority of women, moreover, work as domestic employees. Pursuant to the 1987 regulations of the Employment Act governing domestic employees, domestic workers may work up to 60 hours a week, as compared to the 48 hours applied to other workers. Additionally they are entitled to only four paid public holidays, compared to eight holidays granted to other workers. Nor are domestic workers covered by minimum wage regulations.⁷

Maternity Allowances. The Employment Act, by Section 117,

⁵Mines, Quarries, Works and Machinery Act, Chapter 44:02, Section 13 (4).

⁶Employment Act, part XII: Employment of Females, Section 116.

⁷The Legal Situation of Women in Southern Africa, *ibid*, p. 31.

subsection 5, provides that the employer shall pay every female employee absent from work on maternity leave an allowance of not less than 25 percent of her basic pay.⁸ In 1987, the government increased maternity allowance for civil servants to 50 per cent of the basic pay, but failed to abolish the statutory minimum of 25 percent in the Employment Act. The result is that employers in the private sector may legally opt to pay women on maternity leave no more than the statutory minimum of 25 per cent.⁹ Moreover, under Section 121 of the Botswana Employment Act, a woman is protected from dismissal from her job only during maternity leave; there is no protection for a female worker during her pregnancy before maternity leave accrues.¹⁰

CITIZENSHIP.

Section 4 of the 1984 Citizenship Act of Botswana provides that a person born in Botswana shall be a citizen of Botswana by birth and descent if, at the time of his birth his father was a citizen of Botswana or his mother, unmarried, was a citizen of Botswana. Although the Act does not force a woman citizen to give up her Botswana nationality on marriage to an alien, it does deprive a Botswana woman married to an alien the capacity to pass

⁸Employment Act, part XII: Employment of Females, Section 117 (5).

⁹The Minister of Labor and Home Affairs is empowered under the Employment Act to increase the minimum maternity leave pay, but has not exercised such option since the power was created in 1982.

¹⁰White paper, Women's Division of the Department of Labor and Home Affairs, p.2, Maternity Allowance.

her Botswana citizenship to their children, even when such children were born in Botswana. No such disability is borne by a male Botswana citizen who can confer Botswana citizenship to their children irrespective of the nationality of the children's mothers. Under Section 5 of the act, male Botswana citizens can also confer Botswana citizenship to their children born outside Botswana, but this capacity is not applicable to female Botswana citizens married to non-Batswana men.¹¹ The constitutionality of the Citizenship Act has been challenged in the case of Unity Dow v. Attorney-General, (H.C.) No. 124/90. The High Court found in favor of Ms. Dow's claim that Sections 4 and 5 of the Citizenship Act was in ultra vires of the Constitution of Botswana. The Attorney General appealed from that decision and the case has been accepted for review by the Court of Appeal, the highest court in the country.

CONCLUSIONS. Despite the significant progress that Botswana has made in socio-economic development since Independence, there remains an urgent need to re-evaluate its policy towards and treatment of women. According to a 1981 Population Census, children under 15 years old constitute 46.8% of the population.¹² A significant proportion of these children come from female headed households, generally dependent on domestic service employment and

¹¹White paper, Women's Division, Division of Labor and Home Affairs, p. 1, Citizenship Act.

¹²The Situation of Children and Women in Botswana. A Report by the Government of Botswana and the United Nations Children's Fund. June, 1986, p. 1.

other insecure and unpredictable sources of income. Poverty, disease, malnutrition and ignorance place children from these homes at a severe disadvantage. The government and the people of Botswana must come to realize that the future successes of their country are materially tied to the well-being of her women and children.

Impact of Economic and Social Development on the Roles of Women: Zimbabwe and Botswana

Women's roles in both public and private spheres can be influenced by economic and social development in complex ways. In the context of recent evidence that general economic and social development efforts in Africa have not only failed to improve the situation of women but have contributed to their poverty and marginalization (Topouzis, 1990) I would like to examine the current situation in Botswana and Zimbabwe. These two countries provide the opportunity to look at relatively new countries where important changes in social and economic development have been occurring in recent years. While this presentation is concerned primarily with Botswana and Zimbabwe, similar patterns are also present in other sub-Saharan countries (cf. Ivan-Smith, Tandon, Connors, 1988). Since placing all the women in these countries in one group would give a very misleading picture, this presentation will be limited to women of African descent with an indication whether the issues being discussed pertain especially to rural or urban women and which social class.

Economic and social development efforts arise out of decisions made at various levels (for example, community, national, international) and within different sectors (political, legal, economic, social services) that interact. These issues also occur within an ongoing cultural setting with an historical dimension. Policies further can have both unintended as well as intended consequences.

Information for this analysis is derived from previously existing literature regarding Zimbabwe and Botswana, as well as Africa in general, and conversations with experts from these countries along with women who are dealing in their own lives with these issues (especially urban women) during a study tour to Botswana and Zimbabwe during the summer of 1991 sponsored by the Fulbright-Hays program.

Historical Introduction:

The peoples of Zimbabwe and Botswana were primarily engaged in agriculture and some marketing prior to colonization. While gender distinctions were made, these activities required the joint efforts of both men and women. Colonial actions to create a labor market disrupted this pattern and set the stage for the current scene of increased poverty of women.

Zimbabwe: Europeans needed labor and food for their mining operations. To encourage men to assume the difficult and dangerous labor of the mines, Africans were pushed off the good lands onto the reserves with inferior lands. This action forced African families to supplement their income from the wage economy of the mines or the cities and gave the superior land to European immigrants. Cultural codes and work requirements meant that men tended to migrate while women stayed home and assumed more responsibility for agriculture. Unfortunately women did so with several disadvantages that insured their poverty and decreased authority: inferior land, state subsidies for agriculture limited to whites, and a legal and political system which viewed men as wage earners and women as "dependent housewives"--a model totally inappropriate for these hard working agricultural women. Both customary laws and the Roman-Dutch legal code (instituted by the colonial government) added to their difficulties. Customary law granted land for usage through the male (to be used by the man and his family) upon marriage. Dutch-Roman laws forbid land ownership by women, thus allowing men who migrated to the city to retain the security of their land while tying women to the land. The typical urban employment of men as "houseboys" and caretakers of children required men to assume traditional feminine roles and further contributed to tensions within families. Women who tried to migrate to the cities and enter the wage economy were handicapped by laws which did not allow them to be a permanent part of the civil service system and a differential wage scale which favored men. Broadening of educational opportunities added to the burden of rural women

because children attending school were no longer available to help with child care or other household or farm chores (Gaidzanwa, 1991).

As President Mogabe indicated at the time of Zimbabwean independence, "Our society has consistently stood on the principle of male dominance--the principle that the man is the ruler and the woman his dependent and subject" (1979).

Botswana: Male control of leadership in government was firmly entrenched within traditional Tswana society. While women were viewed as clearly subordinate to men and always had male guardians, oral history and folklore point to the requirement that men should consult and respect their women. Despite *de jure* subordination of women, they were sometimes given certain *de facto* privileges (Dirasse and Mookodi, 1989; Molokomme, 1989; Nengwenkhulu, 1990). The British later instituted a hut tax requiring each household to pay cash. This in turn forced men to migrate to what is now called South Africa to work in the mines (Magwa, 1991). Women were left to carry out the major agricultural tasks the disadvantages similar to those faced by the women in Zimbabwe.

Contemporary Picture:

Given the complexity of the issues, we will examine the current scene within several sectors: legal, political, economic, educational, and familial.

Legal: Laws are an essential foundation, however, as legal experts indicate "women's legal rights in practice depend more on women's general social-economic situation, their high rate of illiteracy, and on their ideological consciousness, strength and financial wherewithal to challenge the community's views than on the law itself" (Moboreke, 1990, p. 5). The legal sphere includes the actual laws and policies, how they are applied, issues of access, and the prevailing cultural attitudes which influence how people respond to and accept the current legal situation. The legal system is challenged not only to provide equality between men and women but also to address the special needs arising from the unique life course of men and women. The tendency

to view women's rights as belonging to the private sphere has also contributed to the oppression of women because these laws are often more difficult to change (Moboreke, p. 4, 1989; Matlakala, 1989).

Both countries, as well as many other former colonies, have a dual legal system: traditional customary law and the general law. Customary laws derive from an oral tradition and thus many laws and practices remain unwritten. These laws furthermore are in an ongoing process of change and vary from one ethnic group to another. Although men and women have equal access to both legal systems, theoretically, customary courts are typically less expensive. Since women are usually poorer than men and legal aid is lacking, women tend to seek help within the customary courts despite the fact that the general law usually provides women with more rights. People also do not understand when they have a right to choose and find it difficult to evaluate the benefits of the two systems (Molokomme, 1989; Stewart, Ncube, Maboreke, Armstrong, 1989, p. 168; Magwa, 1991).

The following review of legal developments in Zimbabwe and Botswana demonstrates that significant progress have been made in providing for equality and some of the important needs of women. Yet important gaps in both the content and process still leave women vulnerable to poverty and oppression, especially rural women and those who are poor and uneducated.

Zimbabwe: In the past decade, several key legal rights for women helped equality and opened the doors to new possibilities for women (especially, right of majority status, nondiscriminatory employment, right to own immovable property). Unless otherwise stated, the following information is derived from Stewart, Ncube, Mabroke, Armstrong (1990).

Legal Status: The Legal Act of Majority (1982) gave women the status of adults at age 18 for the first time (p. 170).

Marriage: Majority status gave women the right to contract a marriage without the consent or assistance of their parents or relatives and without the *lobolo* (bride price). The custom of the *lobolo* is so strong, however, that most brides continue to let their fathers negotiate for and receive this payment. The practice of the *Lobolo* is considered to place women in a subordinate role within marriage. Customary law gives men the right to officially choose polygamy (pp. 171-172).

Property: Laws giving each party in a marriage full power over their part of the estate granted women control over their own part of the estate, but also penalized them. Since men's contribution tended to be in the public (wage) sector and women's in the home, woman who had worked within the home could often be left virtually destitute at the time of divorce. Under a recent law (Matrimonial Causes Act, Section 7) the court can now consider many types of contributions in making an equitable reallocation of property at the time of divorce. (p. 176). As a result, the views of the judiciary toward women are even more critical (p. 177).

Women recently gained the right to own immovable property; however, women in urban areas still risk losing property that they contributed to in a major way due to the tradition of registering property in the man's name. Laws of ownership do not apply to communal lands. Here traditions placing women in a less favorable position for occupying land are particularly problematic because typically the wife is left to the run the farm in the communal areas. When women are in competition for use of the land with a male sibling, they and their dependents are especially vulnerable (p. 192).

Both men and women have had the right to create wills for many years. Although inheritance laws are equal for both sexes when a will is present, cultural values favoring men and encouraging women to be passive as well as women's lack of information about their legal rights can create problems (p. 180). Women whose husbands die without a will, however, are subject to customary laws that reflect little social change. Women are entitled only to maintenance from the estate which is now part of the

property of the husband's family. While attempts by the family to take the property and not support the wife are illegal, enforcement of the law requires knowledge and the ability to take legal action against the family by the surviving spouse (p. 188).

Children. Children born of a legal union assume the citizenship of the father. Only unmarried women can grant their children citizenship in Zimbabwe if the father is not Zimbabwean. While child maintenance is legally required, there are ongoing problems in both its adequacy and its enforcement (p. 191). Recent attempts by educated women leaders to improve this situation have generated resentment among men (Gaidzanwa, 1991)

Custody of children is based on the interests of the child. Women are being successful in gaining custody of their children; however, socioeconomic conditions and customary laws pose threats to women, especially those who are poor and uneducated (Gaidzanwa, 1991). As a judge evaluates the best interests of a child, the tendency for men to be better off financially can hurt women (p. 191). Payment of the *lobolo* under customary law entitles a father to custody of the children. Under customary law woman has no independent custody claims separate and distinct from those of her guardian because she herself is subject to them p. 191).

Divorce: Divorce laws were revised in 1985 to make them more gender equitable. (p. 181).

Health: The Legal age of Majority Act has given women increasingly power over their own health care. Women can legally use contraceptive devices without permission from their husband (p. 199). Currently women who work as seasonal labor on the large scale farms (the poorest women with the least control over their lives) have the highest birth rates (Gaidzanwa, 1991).

Education: Recent laws provide education for all regardless of gender; however, legal equality does not necessarily translate into actual equality (pp.199-202, Gaidzanwa, 1991).

Women are more likely than men to be affected by the law which requires pregnant students to leave school for a year. Since in 1984, 1/3 of all teenagers between the ages of 15 and 19 had at least one pregnancy, this is a significant issue for women (pp. 198, 202).

Labor Laws: While the recent Labor Relations Act (1985) forbids discrimination on the basis of gender, here also good laws do not insure equality. It also instituted some limited maternity leave benefits for those employed in the formal sector (p. 203, 204).

Commerce: While The Legal Age of Majority Act corrected a long term legal disadvantage in this area, actual practices continue to be influenced by customary views regarding gender (p. 204-206).

Taxation: Laws discriminating against married women have been altered very recently (1988) (pp. 206-208).

Domestic Violence: Laws have been instituted to protect women; however, problems exist in terms of police attitudes, ignorance of the laws by women, and the vulnerable economic position of women (p.214).

Botswana: Unless otherwise cited, the following information is derived from Molokomme (1990).

Legal Status: Women's legal majority status is ambiguous. Under customary law, women have traditionally been held in the position of a minor, under the guardianship of a man, although by the age of marriage this was more theoretical than actual. Under general law, single women theoretically have the legal status of majority, although social attitudes still create problems. Women who marry under community property lose their legal status as majors. Women who choose not to marry in community property retain their legal status as adults but face other problems described subsequently under marriage. (pp. 12-20); Magwa, 1991; Setshwaelo & Glickman, 1991).

Marriage: Couples must choose to marry under either customary or general law.

Customary law: Marriage involves an agreement between two sets of families and in some ethnic groups, the transfer of *bogodi* (bridewealth). Men can choose to be polygamous. His infidelity is tolerated while hers is grounds for a divorce. While traditionally legal authority was granted to the husband, it was mitigated by a *de facto* power of women in household matters. The bogadi theoretically gives the husband more control over his wife, although studies regarding the current prevalence and practical effect are lacking. Under this arrangement, the woman requires her husband's consent in legal matters. The husband has right of ownership of most of the valuable property--an issue in the case of divorce or death.

General law: Women are also disadvantaged under this system. Marriage under community property gives women right to a half share of the property, however, men are given sole power of administering that property. Women can thus enter into contracts only with the consent of their husbands. Although this may sometimes be in theory only, the reality is that women remain vulnerable to the whims of men and are given less than adult status. Couples may also choose to marry out of community property. This allows women to retain their legal status of adults and own and administer property independently. Since property of value tends to be registered in the husbands name; however, women, especially housewives, may have little at the time of divorce (pp. 14-19); Magwa, 1991: Setshwaelo & Glickman, 1991). Unlike in Zimbabwe, judges do not have the discretion to divide the property more equitably (p. 18).

Divorce: Customary law makes it more difficult for women to receive a divorce than men. General law has similar requirements for both men and women (p. 20-21).

Inheritance: Although customary law discriminated against women in inheriting property of value, there was a long standing tradition of transferring these items to both male and female children prior to death. Generally customs are moving in the direction of greater equality for women. Woman whose husbands die without a will, however, remain dependent on the generosity of their in-laws. General law gives the surviving spouse

the right to inherit some of the property of the deceased as well as maintenance (p. 21-23).

Children: The ability of a mother to pass her Botswana citizenship on to her child was recently reduced (Citizenship Act of 1984). Currently only unmarried women can provide their children with Botswana citizenship if the father is not a citizen. This ruling was recently been challenged in the courts (Unity Dow vs. State, 1991) and the challenge was upheld. This decision is now being appealed to the higher courts (Magwa, 1991, Setshwaeli & Glickman, 1991).

Custody is based on the best interests of the child although payment of the bogadi by the husband tends to give him some preference. Women typically gain custody where the child is illegitimate (p. 27-28).

Both parents are required to provide support for the child. The required maintenance from the father in the case of out of wedlock children is extremely low, not well enforced, and limited to the first child. In addition the type of evidence required to establish paternity frequently creates impossible barriers for young uneducated women. As a result of these issues, many women either do not seek maintenance or fail to receive any meaningful help (pp. 14-17; Mogwa, 1991; Davids, 1991; Matlakala, 1989),

Property Rights: New laws now protect the rights of women to own and sell immovable property, however, these apply only to commercial land not to communal land (granted on the basis of usage and custom at the discretion of the local authority responsible for assigning land). Traditions favoring men's right to occupy land place poor and rural women and their dependents at a particular disadvantage because typically the wife is left to run the farm in these areas. When women and their male siblings are in competition for land, these traditions place women at heightened risk (pp. 22, 23).

Despite legal provision of equality, the tendency for property to be placed in the name of the husband places urban women at risk. As a result, women can provide

virtually all of the payment for a property and be unable to prevent their husband from selling it (p. 18).

Employment rights: Government policy states that working women receive the same pay as men for the same work. Employers can, however, advertise for a member of a specific gender and women are forbidden to assume certain jobs that have been deemed hazardous. Maternity leave with a limited salary is required in the formal sector. Domestic workers, many of whom are women, however, receive fewer legal protections. (pp. 31,32).

Education: The law provides education for all through the elementary school years but education is not compulsory. Educational opportunities for women are thus influenced by economic and cultural considerations that place women at a disadvantage. The policy that only the woman, not the man who made her pregnant, must be expelled from school has been revised to include both parties.

Important advances have thus been made in advancing the rights of women; however, some important limitations remain in the content of the laws, access to the law, and the cultural context.

Education: Despite legal equality in education, significant problems regarding access to education remain. To be fair to both countries, they have mounted massive efforts since independence to educate their total population yet still must cope with scarce resources of personnel and facilities.

While initial school enrollments between boys and girls are generally similar, girls tend to drop out of school much sooner than do boys. This trend occurs at the transition from primary to the junior secondary schools and especially to the senior secondary ones. Social customs in both countries which value education of girls less than boys contribute to this pattern. Given the lack of pensions, education of sons may represent an investment in future support by the parents (Stewart, Ncube, Maboreke, Armstrong, 1990; Gaidzanwa, 1991; Datta, 1989).

When economic problems emerge in the countries (as is the case currently especially in Zimbabwe), girls are particularly vulnerable to values minimizing the importance of their education (Gaidzanwa, 1991).

While education from primary school through the university has generally been free for those who qualify academically in both countries, Zimbabwe is now facing pressure from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to decrease their social spending. One proposal being considered is a new policy of charging parents who are able to pay for the education of their children (Sibanda, 1991). While these policies are designed to target primarily middle class families who value education for their children, depending on the levels of income and the nature of the payment involved, such policies may potentially limit the education of women in the country.

The pregnancy of school girls is a major problem in both countries. In Botswana, for example, 50% of drops outs of females are due to pregnancy (Alexander, 1989). Although current laws requiring both parties to leave school for a year are theoretically gender neutral, school personnel and others report that the fathers typically are older men rather than fellow students (Datta, 1989; Davids, 1991; Magwa, 1991; Jirira, 1990).

At the secondary school level boys are significantly more likely to take science and math courses while girls have traditionally been steered into more typical female occupations (domestic sciences) (Gaidzanwa, 1991). School personnel indicate that teachers are consciously trying to address these problems and to use examples which stress the abilities of young women. In the meantime, many young women are graduating without the skills needed for the more technical jobs that both countries are trying to recruit (Datta, 1989).

University education has posed another problem for women because traditionally men have been interested in women with less education and economic ability than themselves. This has placed women in the position of choosing between a higher

education and marriage (Gaidzanwa, 1991). Conversations with women indicate that some men are beginning to recognize the value of a woman who can contribute financially to the family.

Cultural pressures on women to become mothers poses another burden for women students. For example, the vast majority of women graduating from the University of Botswana in recent years had at least one child and often several. Since many of these were not married, they were assuming the double responsibilities of single parenthood and student (Davids, 1991).

Economic Sphere Purely growth oriented economic and developmental strategies have been criticized for failing to help women or to include them in the planning process (Dirasse, 1989). Despite progress in the economic sphere, women continue to be outside of the economic mainstream in the region (Moesi, 1991-SADDAC) and are more likely to be poor for the following reasons.

Rural women, who represent the vast majority in both countries, face several important handicaps in carrying out their responsibilities as farmers and heads of households. The problems described here are also shared by women from other African countries (cf. Spring, 1986; Smith, 1989; Ivan-Smith, Tandon & Connors, 1988; Beoku-Betts, 1990).

They struggle to support their families with small land plots that they must care for without owning draught power (for example, 25% of male headed families reported owning no draught power in contrast to 74% of female headed households during a recent study conducted in an important rural area of Botswana--VanBrink, Masegok Kanwi, & Mangala, 1989). As a result, their fields are plowed late and they must pay a high cost for both plowing and transporting their crops. The tradition of Mafica that encouraged rural families to share their resources has been of little help to female household families. To supplement their income, these women hire themselves out to weed the farms of others but they dare not bargain for a higher wage. At the same time

these women must carry out all the household chores and major community responsibilities (for example, building schools). In addition these women farmers struggle with lack of help from the extension staff who tend to view women as a poor investment of their efforts and thus gear their training around the needs and schedules of men. Women face difficulties in obtaining credit independently in order to obtain needed supplies. They are also rarely consulted in the planning process of agricultural programs (Van Brink, 1989; Kelly, 1991; Alexander, 1989; Segwele, 1991; Jirira, 1990; Setshwaelo & Glickman, 1991). Women who work for others either in the actual raising and harvesting of crops or the food processing industry work the longest hours and at the lowest salaries (Jirira, 1990).

Problems of rural women in Zimbabwe are also linked to the general land question in Zimbabwe. Most of the fertile land is still in the hands of the white farmers of European descent while those of African descent still tend to till small plots on poorer land. Historical problems for women of gaining access to land in their own right has also accentuated the poverty of women in rural areas. Despite these problems, women farmers are good producers (Moyo, 1991). With the increased encouragement by the government of Zimbabwe to raise cash crops (especially tobacco) to generate foreign currency and greater allocations of quality farm land for this purpose, (Moyo, 1991, 1990) the question is raised whether their already limited support will be further reduced.

Women's tendency to remain in rural areas has made them more vulnerable to the historical and ongoing disadvantages of rural areas: lack of infrastructure (roads, electricity), reduced quality of health care, lack of adequate education

Urban women in Zimbabwe experience problems in the labor market despite laws forbidding job discrimination. Conversations with middle-class women in Zimbabwe and Botswana, reveal some similar concerns to women in the United States--the strong perception that women must "work much harder than men to succeed" and

then that there are subtle barriers at work that make it difficult for women to advance in the large corporations (both domestic and multinational). Problems also exist with women being occupationally segregated into lower paying assignments and greater hurdles in receiving training or promotions (Jirira, 1990). In Zimbabwe, when the Education and Health sectors are deleted, the share of female employment in the "formal sector" decreased from 1975-1984. The Education and Health sectors (where there is a heavy concentration of women) were among those with the lowest wages increases during this period (Jirira, 1990). When migration to the cities by women is coupled with job displacement of men during economically troubled times (as is true in Zimbabwe currently) it contributes to the tensions existing between men and women (Gaidzanwa, 1991).

Laws in Botswana allow employers to state that they want to hire a man for a job. Women's lack of technical training further places them at risk for being limited to hard physical labor with lower pay (Datta, 1989; Molutsi, 1989). For example, the building next to our dorm at the University was being built with a construction crew composed almost equally of men and women. Women did the hard physical work of transporting bricks while men then proceeded to lay the bricks and supervise the work.

Policies of the Botswana government which transfer people around to various parts of the country also pose special hardships for women. Many of these are working as nurses or teachers and are thus dependent upon governmental employment. When they are transferred a long distance from their husbands, women have to make difficult choices in terms of their work or their families. Family issues are further complicated by the schooling situation since the private schools that many educated families want their children to attend are located only in the main urban centers.

The minimum wage and mandatory maternity leave laws generally protect only those employed in the formal sector while most women are employed in either the domestic or informal sector (Molokomme, 1990; Alexander, 1989). Some of these

difficulties reflect the different class interests at work between groups of women. For example, domestic workers working for middle class women are typically paid a wage totally inadequate to support a family (and many of these are single parent families). Many other women are trying to eke out a living for the their family through selling goods at the market, making baskets or other crafts.

While middle class women can afford to hire cheap domestic help, poorer women (many of whom are single mothers) face a major problem in child care. As a result, there are problems were absentee rates by women workers (Glickman, 1991).

Earlier development efforts for women were criticized for concentrating on health and nutrition matters and not providing women with the help they need to produce income for their families (Topouzis, 1990). There is evidence in both countries of efforts to help organize women in cooperatives by which they can produce crafts or clothing to sell. While these activities are an important source of income for families--especially those in the rural areas which have limited access to other sources of income--and do train women in business skills, the question still remains as to how well these efforts are really helping to mainstream women into the ongoing major economic scene in the countries involved.

Political Life: Both countries allow women to vote and to participate in all levels of the political process. Political representation in Zimbabwe was described as higher than either the United States or the United Kingdom but as not yet satisfactory to women (Gaidzanwa, 1991). Currently about 10% of the members of Parliament are women, but there are no women governors (Jirira, 1990). With only one woman in Parliament and the House of Chiefs a male institution, the political scene in Botswana is dominated by men. Women leaders in both countries decry the position of women as laborers and cheerleaders for male politicians and urge women to begin seeking political power and supporting other women (Jirira, 1990; Nengwenkhulu, 1990)

On a hopeful note, in both Zimbabwe and Botswana there is relative freedom for groups to criticize governmental policies and to mobilize political support around certain positions.

Family: Major changes have occurred in the family life in both countries which have had a profound effect on women's roles within the family and the broader community. These changes reflect a general social transition from traditional to more modern patterns. Under the traditional pattern, land is the economic basis and source of power. A woman is an outsider within her husband's family and gains a place only through fidelity and childbirth. During the transition stage, education becomes more important economically but is biased towards sons. This empowers men and keeps women subordinate. Under the modern pattern, women also become educated and thus more marketable in a world where the market economy rather than land is becoming more important as a source of income and power. There is also an increase in individuation. Although men have never felt constrained to be faithful to their wives, women too feel less tied to their husbands. The transition to modern patterns is especially true among urban families and where there are higher levels of education (Mhlogi, 1990).

Although the extended family system in Africa has been considered a strong institution, economic demands have for many years placed women as *de facto* single heads of households while their husbands were away working in the mines or other type of work (Gaidzanwa, 1991). Although part of an extended family, they faced the constraints and problems discussed earlier.

Today, large numbers of households are headed by women (for example, 48% of rural and 33% of urban households in Botswana), especially among poor families (Dirasse & Mookodi, 1989; not only as a result of this long term pattern but also due to the growing divorce rate and increasing numbers of unmarried women with children. The increased divorce rate appears to be a result of several interconnected factors: increased family tensions due to economic tensions within the family (especially related

problems of unemployment of men) and changes in sex roles, greater economic independence on the part of women, increased social permission for women to seek a divorce, and decreased willingness for women to submit themselves to abuse. Zimbabwe especially is facing a major problem of unemployment in the context of a rising cost of living that contributes to growing tension within the family (although lack of employment for school leavers is an issue in both countries). Women's (especially urban women) expectations regarding sex roles have moved in the direction of greater equality and freedom for women. Men raised in traditional patterns of the male as the authority who was owed a certain degree of service and was free to be sexually unfaithful have sometimes found these changes difficult (Molutsi, 1991; Dhemba, 1991). Although women face the economic constraints cited above and experience higher levels of unemployment than men (Datta, 1989), they are increasingly able to find jobs and generate a source of income. While this may be especially problematic for women in the lower classes, so also is less income security of men in their group. Middle class women reported that their mothers viewed getting a daughter married as an overriding concern while now there are more options for women. This is less so for poorer women (Gaidzanwa, 1991). Women reported that while the extended family certainly does not encourage divorce, there is a recognition that women do not need to submit themselves in an ongoing manner to serious abuse. With changing expectations on the part of women, greater economic security, and increased social support, women are also being less willing to stay in abusive marriages. Domestic shelters for women who are being abused have been established in urban centers of Zimbabwe (Gaidzanwa, 1991) but there has been reluctance to do so yet in Botswana (Magwa, 1991).

Increased urbanization and general social changes have also meant a decline in the power and resources of the extended family, especially in urban areas. The impact of this change upon the lives of women has been a mixed blessing. It has meant new freedoms for women to control their own lives as well as those of their immediate family

(for example, decisions about whom to marry, whether or not they want a divorce, how to use the little free time they have, how to bury a family member (Davids, 1991; Molutsi, Gaidzanwa, 1991)). At the same time, it has also meant that some positive resources and constraints are also diminished (Botswana National Development Plan, 1991). For example, the rising problem of substance abuse that has contributed to violence toward woman has been partly attributed to the increased isolation of people and decreased constraints of the extended family (Molutsi, 1991; Mapute, 1991). The increased number of murder/suicides involving young soldiers and their girls friends and drinking have been a particularly violent manifestation of this problem (Magwa, 1991; Molutsi, 1991). Women in the urban areas have also experienced greater isolation from their social ties and have also been less able to turn to extended family for support in child care (Davids, 1991; Mapute, 1991; Botswana Development Report, 1991).

The rapidity of social change has altered family roles and in the process contributed to a major generation gap within the family. Mothers who participated in arranged marriages as young teenagers must now respond to daughters with vastly new options. Many teenage girls are being seduced by the all too often empty promises of romance and a better life made by older men (frequently married). The results are typically a pregnancy without marriage or meaningful financial support and either the termination or break in the schooling of the girl. Unfortunately it is difficult for these mothers to draw upon their own life experiences to offer any appropriate, much less credible, advice that might help prevent some of these pregnancies to their daughters. Furthermore, communication patterns have traditionally tended to be indirect, through a younger aunt. With the decline in the role of the extended family, these younger aunts may well no longer be available to play this role (Davids, 1991).

As described under the section on education, young woman are now facing the demands of two generations: a growing interest in and need for an education and career and the traditional valuing of children. Educated young women feel less of a

need to marry under old patterns and are now seeking for more of a partnership. They thus find themselves sometimes exhausted as they try to carry out both work and the family responsibilities of single parenthood (Davids, 1991).

Several problems involving children demonstrate another shadow side to increased tensions within the family and the decreased strength of the family: the growing problem of abandoned babies (Dzvimbo, 1991) and older children who are living on the streets of the large cities (Botswana Development Plan, 1991; Dhemba, 1991). Attempts to return these children to their family without services to the family have proven markedly unsuccessful (Mapute, 1991).

Structural readjustment programs may pose additional challenges to women by curtailing social programs or increasingly the barriers to access (Dhemba, 1991). When an already overburdened woman (both mother and worker) must go through a lengthy wait at the Department of Human Services for screening for financial help before seeking medical help for herself or child, it may either reduce her ability to contribute to the family or make decisions that reduce vital health care for the family. Given the growing problem of AIDS in Africa, these problems may lead to even more hardships.

Summary:

Social and economic changes have thus created new opportunities for women in Zimbabwe and Botswana, but important barriers to reducing increased poverty for women remain. Changes have also contributed to the growth of some social problems which require new social approaches. Current structural adjustment programs may promise long term economic improvement in a country; however, in the process they can jeopardize the situation of women by curtailing social services, deemphasizing food production, and decreasing current mechanisms of economic and social security.

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CURRICULUM PROJECT
FULBRIGHT-HAYS SEMINAR
"SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA"
by
RALPH D. VAN INWAGEN
OCTOBER 14, 1991

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I want to thank all my colleagues in this seminar for their valuable insights into African history, culture, and literature. My participation in this seminar was enhanced by the erudite and ongoing discussions that took place throughout our extensive travels.

A special thanks goes to Joy du Plessis and Don Schilling. Joy was excellent in her role as group leader. Her planning and guidance made the seminar a memorable experience. Don Schilling, my roommate, was a tremendous source of interesting and valuable information and insights into all of the topics covered during the seminar. His comments and observations helped me in many incalculable ways to distill a vast amount of information down to a manageable level and logical way to incorporate it into a high school level survey course. Also, I am developing a one year elective course for high school seniors on African geography, history, and literature to be taught in the 1992-1993 school year, and I am planning to ask Don Schilling for help and advice in completing the project.

Finally, I want to thank the Fulbright-Hays Seminar Program for granting me the opportunity to partake in this wonderful experience. My growth as a person and an educator has taken tremendous leaps forward as a result of my experiences in Southern Africa.

POST-WORLD WAR II AFRICAN HISTORY SECTION

GENERAL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE:

In covering the history of the post-World War II era in a high school survey course, very little time is devoted to an exploration of the emerging nationalism that changed the map of Africa. Most courses in either American history or World History give brief attention to the events of a whole continent because time constraints force the teachers or curriculum specialists to trim down or eliminate certain subjects, and, as a result, Africa is not given the attention it deserves. Recent national studies report that many American students are vaguely aware of the geography, history, and cultures of Africa.

What I have attempted to do is to restructure the courses in the History Department so that both the World History and United States History I courses finish at the end of the nineteenth century. The second year of the two year United States History requirement, United States History II, was restructured and renamed America in the Twentieth Century World.

The primary goal of the new course was to study America's history in the twentieth century in conjunction with the major events, trends, and developments of the non-American world. Twentieth century American history cannot be studied with only brief references to the concurrent non-American events. The course is an attempt to combine the twentieth century material of

the World History and United States History II courses into one course.

The following is a three and a half weeks section of the history of Africa in the post-World War II period with a special concentration on Southern Africa that will be incorporated into the America in the Twentieth Century World course during the 1991-1992 school year. It is designed to focus on the emerging nationalism, the struggle to deal with the colonial legacy, the economic problems of development, and the social and political problems faced by these African nations in the post-World War II era.

GENERAL COURSE DESCRIPTION:

The course, America in the Twentieth Century World, is a general survey of twentieth century American History set in the context of major events, movements, ideas, and changes of the twentieth century world. The course will begin with the emergence of the United States as a world power in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War in 1898 and will conclude with a look at the possible directions America has available to it as it confronts the emerging post-Cold War era. The content of the course will emphasize the major periods of American history such as the Progressive era, World War I, the Between-the-Wars era (1919-1939), Great Depression, World War II, and post-World War II era, but these periods will be studied in conjunction with

concurrent events in other areas of the world.

For example, America's emergence as a world power and an imperial nation at the beginning of the twentieth century is examined with the history of European imperialism in this period, especially the domination of Africa; the Progressive Era (1900-1917) will be studied in light of the attempted reforms of the major industrial nations of Europe and the emergence of a revolutionary system, communism, in Russia; America's entry into World War I in 1917 will be explored by looking at the forces that led to Europe's descent into the "Great War" from 1870 to 1914; the nature and growth of totalitarianism in the 1920s and 1930s will be studied as a crucial focus for understanding World War II; the origins of the Cold War will start with the Russian Revolution of 1917 and follow the major events in the establishment and development of the Soviet Union from 1917-1945, and the Cold War Era itself will be studied by moving from the hysteria of McCarthyism to the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union in 1991; and the end of European colonialism will be examined by studying the emerging nationalism in Africa and America's relationship, as the leader of the non-Communist world, to the emerging Third World nations in the post-World War II era. These and other topics will be examined with a social, cultural, and economic focus and not just in a political context.

There will be two special topic sections during the year that will focus on the major developments in twentieth century art and literature & philosophy. The emphasis will be on

"exposure" to the main ideas and works of twentieth century artists, and how their works reflect the events of the twentieth century. The literature & philosophy section will look at how American authors were influenced by European authors, Freudianism and its influence in psychology, art, and politics, and the impact of existentialism on psychology, literature, and traditional philosophy. Both of these sections will be "brief" surveys utilizing salient excerpts of primary and secondary sources and will not involve any reading of major works.

The course will conclude with a review of the major themes, ideas, and events of the twentieth century-- i.e. war, industrialization, alienation, totalitarianism, communism, nationalism, mass culture, population growth, civil rights movements, the computer revolution, increasing global interdependence, etc.-- in order to analyze the successes and failures of the twentieth century world. The last week of the year will be spent discussing the situation of the world in the 1990s, the challenges the world will face in the twenty-first century, and the role the United States will play in meeting the demands and challenges of the post-Cold War era during the next decade and century.

The course will use textbooks and ancillary reading materials from primary and secondary sources. There will be films, slides, and archival pictures. Students will work on essay and paper writing each trimester, the final project being a book review.

AFRICAN SECTION OBJECTIVES:

The major objectives are

- 1) to explore African nationalism, 1945-1991,
- 2) to examine the impact of the colonial legacy in Africa,
- 3) to study the dynamics and impact of social changes,
- 4) to investigate the economic problems of development,
- 5) to understand political, racial, and civil problems of African nations, and
- 6) to become familiar with the geography of Africa.

SKILL OBJECTIVES:

Students will be required

- 1) to identify the major geographical features, countries, and cities of Africa,
- 2) to write a position paper on a topic related to this section,
- 3) to know the major events and developments for an essay test, and
- 4) to look for articles on current events in Africa.

SCHEDULE:

WEEK I:

- MONDAY-- Topic: introduction to the geography of Africa
- Homework: study the maps of Africa in students' copy of Goode's World Atlas
- Objectives: begin to learn the countries, cities, and features of northern Africa
- TUESDAY-- Topic: continuation of learning the geography of Africa and show section of United Learning filmstrip "Regions of the World, Part 2" on the geography of northern Africa
- Homework: study maps of Africa in students' copy of Goode's World Atlas
- Objectives: begin to learn the countries, cities, and features of Sub-Saharan Africa
- WEDNESDAY-- Topic: continuation of learning the geography of Africa and show section of United Learning filmstrip "Regions of the World, Part 2" on the geography of Sub-Saharan Africa
- Homework: read pp. 419-423 in Global Rift by L.S. Stavrianos
- Objectives: study the beginnings of African resistance to European control in the period up to 1914
- THURSDAY-- Topic: examine why African resistance to European rule was futile and where Africa is by the end of World War I
- Homework: read pp. 556-562 in Global Rift
- Objectives: study how the European powers went about legitimizing and strengthening their control over the entire African continent from 1914-1939
- FRIDAY-- Topic: discuss the methods used by European powers to deepen their control and exploitation of the African continent

Homework: read pp. 562-568 in Global Rift

Objectives: study the reasons for the beginnings of resistance to European rule and how it was manifested

WEEK II:

MONDAY--

Topic: discuss how European control dismantled traditional societies and look at how nothing new was created to replace it as colonial rule was about to come to an end in the post-World War II era

Homework: read pp. 568-573 in Global Rift

Objectives: study why the situation in South Africa was different and how the system of apartheid was firmly established

TUESDAY--

Topic: look at the situation of exploitation through the film The Africans: Tools of Exploitation by WETA Washington, D.C. and the BBC

Homework: read pp. 283-288 in Daniel R. Brower's The World in the 20th Century

Objectives: explore the decolonization of Africa resulting from the emerging nationalism and white resistance to political independence

WEDNESDAY--

Topic: discuss the process and reasons for decolonization and the nature of white resistance to the process

Homework: read pp. 665-673 in Global Rift

Objectives: study the process of liberation for Africa that started in the second decade after World War II

THURSDAY--

Topic: watch the film The Africans: New Conflicts

Homework: read pp. 674-680 in Global Rift and pp. 288-291 in The World in the 20th Century

Objectives: explore the successes and failures of newly independent states in Africa

FRIDAY--

Topic: discuss the problems newly independent

nations in Africa face in the first two decades of their existence

Homework: read "Zimbabwe a Decade after Independence" by Virginia Curtain Knight in the May, 1990 issue of Current History

Objectives: study a sample case of a newly independent African nation and its economic, social, and political problems

WEEK III:

MONDAY--

Topic: watch the film The Africans: In Search of Stability

Homework: read first half of section on democracy in Botswana in Democracies in Regions of Crisis by The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

Objectives: study a case of a successful African democracy and the reasons for the emergence of a democratic tradition in Botswana

TUESDAY--

Topic: discuss the historical background that gave rise to the democratic form of government in Botswana

Homework: finish the section on Botswana in Democracies in Regions of Crisis

Objectives: study the reasons why democracy might fail in Botswana, the roots of this in the history of Botswana, and the chances for economic and political success in one of Africa's most successful countries

WEDNESDAY--

Topic: analyze the trend toward a stronger military presence in Botswana and why Botswana has yet to test its commitment to democratic government

Homework: read pp. 730-741 in Global Rift

Objectives: study an example of a social revolutionary regime that developed in Mozambique and the reasons for this course of development, especially in relationship to Mozambique's

colonial heritage

THURSDAY--

Topic: discuss the ways the revolutionary regime in Mozambique is attempting to move in the direction of developing new social institutions to replace the ones left from the colonial days and traditional African customs

Homework: read "Economic Crisis in Mozambique" by Merle L. Bowen in the May, 1990 issue of Current History

Objectives: examine the recent civil war in Mozambique and explore some of the reasons why revolutionary regimes such as this one are not succeeding

FRIDAY--

Topic: discuss why it is difficult to establish revolutionary regimes in a country with serious economic and social problems

Homework: read "United States Policy in Southern Africa" by Richard W. Hull in the May, 1990 issue of Current History

Objectives: explore past and current trends and events concerning America's role in Southern Africa and look at possible future directions of this region of Africa

WEEK IV:

MONDAY--

Topic: discuss the social, economic, and political changes and realities of Southern Africa and how a regional undertaking like SADCC might/might not work, especially in light of the changing situation in South Africa and its eventual membership in SADCC

Homework: finish up paper due tomorrow

TUESDAY--

Topic: Wrap-up session will focus on Africa's future in light of past and present problems and successes

Homework: study for the test on Wednesday covering all of the section on post-World War II Africa

WEDNESDAY--

Topic: TEST covers all material on post-World War II Africa

METHOD OF EVALUATION:

The following will serve as the basis of your grade for this section of the course

- 1) a quiz every Tuesday and Friday covering all the material since the last quiz (quiz average = 20% of the section grade)
- 2) test consisting of one mandatory essay and another essay from a choice of three (test = 30% of the section grade)
- 3) position paper (paper = 50% of the section grade)

PAPER ASSIGNMENT:

The position paper is to be started by the end of WEEK I of this section. A list of possible topics will be provided, but each student is free to pick a topic of his/her choice to be approved by the teacher. Paper topics may focus on economic, social, political, cultural or religious issues of any part of Africa, but the topic must be in the period 1945-1990. After the topic selection is approved, you are to begin researching the topic in local college libraries.

The paper must follow the guidelines established in the book Writing a Research Paper by Jonatha Ceely, et al., the school's guideline for papers. ALL papers must be typed, footnoted, and have a bibliography of at least five different sources. The paper is due the Tuesday after the end of WEEK III. Rough drafts (complete or incomplete) may be submitted at any point in the process of writing the paper.

REMEMBER the paper is 50% of your grade for this section!

POSSIBLE POSITION PAPER TOPICS:

- 1) Can the "Land Question" in Zimbabwe be resolved?
- 2) What were the forces that led to the beginning of the end of apartheid in South Africa?
- 3) Politics and race relations-- can they be resolved in (select a country)?
- 4) Is traditional African culture responsible for the poor legal, political, and economic status of women in (select a country)?
- 5) Is education meeting the needs of African nations (select one as an example)?
- 6) Is dependence on growing cash crops responsible for the current plight of agriculture in Africa?
- 7) Can socialism succeed in any African nation?
- 8) Why is the AIDS epidemic being ignored by many leaders of African nations?
- 9) Will countries like Malawi be able to develop multi-party systems?
- 10) What role will women have in the future development of African nations (select a country)?
- 11) Will regional economic integration through SADCC be able to have a significant impact on the future development of Southern Africa?

12) What future does democracy have in Africa?

READING MATERIAL:

Brower, Daniel R. The World in the Twentieth Century: the Age of Global War and Revolution. Prentice Hall, 1988.

Mondale, Walter F., ed. Democracies in Regions of Crisis. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1990.

Thompson, Carol L., ed. Current History. Current History Publications, Inc., May, 1990.

Stavrianos, L.S. Global Rift: the Third World Comes of Age. William Morrow and Company, 1981.

REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bebler, Anton, ed. Military Rule in Africa. New York, 1973.

Salkever, Louis R. & Flynn, Helen M. Sub-Saharan Africa: Struggle Against the Past. Scott, Foresman, Inc., 1963.

Schrire, Robert, ed. Critical Choices for South Africa: an Agenda for the 1990s. Oxford University Press, 1990.

Skinner, Elliott P., ed. Peoples and Cultures of Africa. Doubleday Press, 1973.

Stewart, Julie & Armstrong, Alice, eds. The Legal Status of Women in Southern Africa, Vol. II. University of Zimbabwe Press, 1990.

Turnbull, Colin. Tradition and Change in African Tribal Life. World, 1966.

African And African American Dance: An Unbroken Chain Of Cultural Unity
by Cynthia Sithembile West

This paper will provide a brief overview in terms of the characteristics, response to and interpretation of the values inherent in dances of the Southern African region. Particular emphasis will be placed on how the look, style and participatory processing of African American dance shares affinity with continental African dance. I have chosen to look at this phenomenon through the lense of Afrocentricity which seeks not to establish hegemony of one form over the other, but to look at/observe the African dance phenomenon from the perspective of the people who create and perform it.

This document uses an Afrocentric approach to look at the dance theater of African and African Americans because this approach comes from the center of African people. This social science paradigm, Afrocentricity, using values and constructs from African ontology and epistemology, thus placing the dance within the context of the African worldview. That the purpose and intent of dance in Africa is functional, that is serves a specific purpose in traditional African society, makes the classical African dance different from classical European forms (i.e ballet). Thus any analysis that precludes this important functional prerequisite, would subsequently de-Africanize the dance, making it foreign to Africans as well as African Americans.

This paper does not seek to draw hegemonic comparisons between the two distinct forms, traditional and diasporan African dance and ballet. I recognize that each has its own unique intent, focus and specificity. Traditional African dance and African American styles, which reflect African retentions in the Americas in character as well as form, are independent, viable staples of the African worldview. This is the premise upon which I will discuss and analyze the dance that I witnessed in the Southern Africa this summer, 1991, with emphasis on the connections these styles have to African American forms. They are both the product of the same worldview adapted for different contexts. Their essential ingredients are the same.

The continuity of African aesthetic values is apparent in the dances of contemporary Africa and America. Watching African dancers at Lobatse Teacher Training College in Botswana, seeing the caramel dust fly as they moved rapidly and intensified rhythm incrementally, reminded me of the flying dust of diaspora dancers here in the United States. And then as I joined the dancers within the circle to share with them the transmutation and synthesis of "their" dance, through my African American heritage, the circle, that historical connection between us, was momentarily complete.

African scholar Mbiti provides an ontological approach to looking at African perception. The religious hierarchy Mbiti proposes, places God, spirit, humans, animals and plants and lastly inanimate objects in rank order. God has primacy over all other forces. Mbiti's anthropocentric model of existence, that places humans at the middle of the ontological framework, provides a small glimpse into the African mind. Although Mbiti recognizes that all matter is imbued with life-force and is therefore sacred, this paradigm does not speak to the more specific African philosophical premise that man is imbued with God. Man is a living God.

Accordingly, from an Afrocentric perspective, (This goes back to ancient Kemetic teachings on ethics and an ethical order of the universe.) there is no need to separate God from men/women. Human beings reflect aspects of the divine and so they are charged with a corresponding moral mandate for every divine law. This constitutes the ethical parameters of African epistemology and is one construct for an analysis of African dance.

The sun, demonstrating universal, ethical order in nature, is symbolically represented by the circle. The circle, the earliest form used

in dance, represents the cyclical harmony, continuity and collectivity toward which humankind is striving. That the circle formation is prominent in much of the traditional African and African derived dances, demonstrates the relationship the genre has to important principles of nature and balance in the universe. "In all African art the meaning flows plainly from the sign used to express it: no gesture in the dance stands by itself, every one is a symbol."¹

This symbolic circle repeatedly appears, not only in the formative structure of African and African derived dance forms, but the sphere also resurfaces again and again in the rhythmic spiralling of the movement, the patterns of the dancers feet and bodies, as well as in the drum patterns of the musicians. The circle represents the African's physical and philosophical quest for perfection: harmony between spirit, energy, seen and unseen forces, human beings. This quest for perfection typifies the traditional ancient Kemetic worldview. This striving "is (part) of a moral mandate which is one of transformation."² The dance physically demonstrates that transformation.

Images of African dance American style meshed with the immediacy of those dynamic transforming dance moments in Lobatse. Dust flew once again, blowing through the slightly cluttered memories of summer greenery at Duke University in North Carolina. Disturbed blades of grass, twisted from the rhythmic frequencies of African American dancers moving in concentric circles, created a frayed green canopy. Synthesizing century old movement traditions characterized by slightly inclined torsos, flat-footed shuffles, polyrhythmic layerings, concentric dimensionality and antiphony, call and response, African American dancers pay homage to ancestors, the power of nature and life-force. Their counterparts on the continent of Africa also pay homage to those who came before them when the dust flies there.

African cosmological principles include ancestors, those who have passed through this world, the departed, are an essential part of the cosmic order. In other words their spirit essence remains with the living. So when the dancer inclines his/her body toward the ground, they pay

¹ Janheinz Jahn. Muntu: African Culture And The Western World. New York: Grove Weidenfield, 1990 edition. p. 85.

respect not only to the life-giving properties of earth, but also to the life-giving of the ancestors who are buried there. In like manner, the flat-footed shuffle also pays homage to the spirit-energy of those who have passed before. The African worldview recognizes the importance of those who came before. They have prepared the way for contemporary men and women. Hence the tremendous respect and veneration for the elders within the matrix of traditional African life. Through the specific rhythmic steps of African dance, the history, memory, ethos and feeling sensibility of Africa and African America meet.

Whether the dancers mete out their steps on ancient holy ground, or on the blood-soaked holy grounds of African enslavement, each dancer reaffirms life-force and being. The African aesthetic demonstrates the long historic, epic voice and sensibility of African people. African dance epitomizes the spirit essence and dynamism of African aesthetic values. These values resonate around the globe in the rhythmic voice of African dance. That voice is alive and celebratory on the religious boulevards and secular streets of contemporary Africans, continental and diasporan.

According to the African worldview no separation or stigma exists between the secular and the religious. Humans not only exist in relationship to nature, but they are always engaged in a balancing act with those forces. "On the basis of African philosophy there can be no strict separation of sacred and profane. Since everything is force or energy, the orisha (a deity who represents an aspect of the one supreme ruling force of the universe which some refer to as God) as well as the human being, the sacred drum as well as the profane, and all force is the embodiment of a single universal life force, the boundary between sacred and profane cannot be drawn as it is in Europe. Everything sacred has, as we have shown, a secular component, and everything secular a relevance to religion."³

African philosophy tells us that all movement is part of the rhythm of life that is actualized in ritual. Ritual is the mode through which the rhythms are harmonized with nature. Each rhythm is a breath rekindled, regenerated by the newness of the moment and the life-force of the dancer. "African dance, on the other hand, always has a meaning, a sense.

It holds the world order on its course; and therefore it is necessary, in fact indispensable."⁴ African dance forms recognize that we share in the powerful cosmic energy created by the planets, stars and galaxies.

The dance, a reaffirmation of the essential life-force, being, through rhythm and gesture, validates life. Whether one witnesses lenjen, an exuberant knee-thrusting, elevated step from West Africa, executed by Chuck Davis' African American Dance Ensemble, or the earth-seering shuffle-drag-frequencies of Lobatse dancers, African tradition is made new, recreated, transformed in contemporary society. The voices of the ancestors resonate again when the footstomping dance-songsters send the potent message of joy and concern in the melodious acapella of Zulu and Ndebele on the cemented patio of Hwange Lodge in Botswana. The performers' voices and feet reiterate the insistent drum-life-pulse-beat of South African bootdancers in Soweto, and the hip-hop-moonwalk-break-stop-stances of their African American cousins here in the New York, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Joplin, Missouri and other cities that house Africans of the diaspora.

The similarity that I observed in the dances and dancing of people of African descent across the diaspora, represents what the late Larry Neal termed "transmutation" and "synthesis". Although this illustrious poet died before he could expand and refine this aesthetic principle, Neal left the African artistic community with fundamental concepts for grounding observations and analysis of African American creative expressions which evolved out of Africa.

The horrific legacy of African enslavement in the Americas neither erased not lessened the power of African expressiveness. Enslavement however, did change the context of that expression. Subsequently enslaved Africans and their contemporary progeny have transformed and essentially reshaped centuries of tone-sound-pitch-gestural rhythmic experiences into viable means of survival. The slightly inclined torso is evident in contemporary break and hip-hop dancers. The deep knee bent stances of MC Hammer's dynamic repertoire displays African form in the Americas. Micheal Jackson's seamless flexibility is another indication of

the non-stop confluence of line, rhythm and dimensionality based on the African aesthetic tradition.

On the other hand twentieth century African American modern dancemakers like Jawole Zollar, artistic director of Urban Bush Women, conjures memories of Africa and contemporary rappers when she highsteps from lenjen to circular struts. Zollar raps simultaneously as she moves, intensifying the power of her statement through rhythmic modality. Harmonizing the energies of the universe through movement ritual to make transformation possible. Zollar and her dancers transform the stage into an altar through rhythm, gesture and "nommo" (word power). The altar then becomes the sacred ground for the ritual of transformation.

In other words, the contemporary African has reconstituted his/her reality, reestablished the primacy of self, his/her African center in the New World. Both diasporan and continental Africans have through dance revisited their ancestors, felt the impact of epic or race memory, as posited by Neal in "Some Reflections on the Black Aesthetic", and made themselves psychologically ready for continued living. Whether the dance acts as the psychic transformer to obliterate the damage of racism and oppression, or thrusts the participant/creator into the daybreak of self-discovery, the rhythmic impact of dance-song-drum-chant-word-gesture is the African person's perennial partner.

The dance, *Kalakumi Ga Ena Tlhogo*, the turkey has no head, that I learned in Lobatse, Botswana, was not unlike the wonderful knee-raised dexterity and power of *Lenjen* in Senegal, the regal subtleties of *Adowa* in Nigeria, or the line precision of South Africa's Ladysmith Black Mombassa. The complexity of the rhythmic structure, as many as eight movements in the timespace of one quarter note, made me appreciate the subtleties of the African aesthetic. Multiple rhythms occurring simultaneously in multiple body parts, a characteristic African trait, were present in *Kalakumi Ga Ena Tlhogo*.

This dance, performed over 5,000 miles from African American urban centers, demonstrated the same multiplicity of form and rhythm as the dances of African Americans. The same richly syncopated rhythm of drum and bodies permeated Lobatse's earthen meeting ground, as much as these same rhythms permeate New York's concrete pavement. The range

of textures, innuendo, style, bravura and rhythmic interplay demonstrated the sophisticated cacophony of the African aesthetic tradition.

Characterized by simultaneous polyrhythms in various body parts, torsos inclined toward the earth, antiphony or call and response, not only between dancer and dancer, but also from dancer to rhythm, rhythm to rhythm, and the wonderful interplay between all these elements working simultaneously together, African dance demonstrates the unbroken chain of one cultural family. Body as drum, repetition, acceleration, deceleration, the unbroken chain of rhythmic frequencies, forms and informs the dance-song-drum-chant aesthetic recognized as African dance.

Whether the dancers converge from circles into single-line formation, stamp forcefully downward on concrete or dirt, spring apparently from nowhere into breathtaking elevations, or make frenetic polymetric patterns on the ground, the African aesthetic is at work. Whether the bodies that jump, prance, scurry, ricochet and vibrate on the hot turf of Lobatse, or the cement slabs of U.S. city streets, the look, drive and feel of the movement is African. Because the dancers display the characteristic ethos and tone of the African worldview, African American hip-hoppers, modern dancers and traditional African dancers share the same legacy of transformative dynamism through rhythm.

Undoubtedly Africa and African America are interconnected. The aesthetic values that permeate African cultural forms are also pervasive in African American styles. Although the specific dance language used for creative expression have been transformed to fit the new context of the Americas, the ethos and sensibility that permeates African American Dance and theater forms is distinctly African.

Like on the streets of African America where passersby stop to participate in the activity of the street dancer/rapper, the audience was unable to quietly and complacently sit back and merely observe the dancers in Lobatse. Although Western European cultures generally reframe from commenting on performances other than demure clapping at the end, a noticeable stir of excitement emanated from the European viewers, while Africans ululated (to register sound like a vibratory shock reaffirming one's own being) as is customary all over traditional Africa. According to the African worldview, the "ululation", an affirmation of one's own personal energy/being, reaffirms the connection humans have with

the universe and all the energies represented there. This response by Africans to performance, which may occur at any time during the dancing, is expected. Audience members may even join in the dancing. Dancing and "ululating" by the viewer completes the symbolic performance circle. Audience participation make the performance whole. The ritual then becomes a reproduction of the universe.

Word as song, song as word, gesture as evidence of word, or "nommo" force, expects antiphony, call and response, to occur between the work of art, its creator and the viewer. If a response does not occur, then the work is incomplete, not beautiful, not functional in the African sense. Response is a construct of the creative process. The very life of the work of art depends on its power to call forth response. If it fails to do this, then the work is not functional, serving no purpose; it is not beautiful; it is not a viable component of living, and therefore unnecessary. The art then, has no *raison d'être* and thus ceases to be in African ontology. Lack of functionality renders it impotent, unconnected to the cycle of life.

African dance is a functional artform. In the African worldview all art is functional. If it has no function in the daily life of the people, then the act is not valid as art. There is no creative expression outside of functionality. Art in the traditional African sense always has a *raison d'être*: instruction, guidance, rites of passage (pubescent, adulthood, parenting).

In addition Art exists in a symbiotic relationship to the viewer, observer, audience, participant, who is expected to share in the creation through response. The power of the creation, evolving through ritual, calls the viewer to participate in the action of the creation: the curvilinear lines of the painting, sculpture, mask, the bowels of the dance, the heart of the drum. The connective circularity of drum-line-pulse-image creation moving in rhythmic cacophony, conjuring memory and expressive will, resonates the power of nature as it tells the story of living. African dance achieves all these goals. Therefore, African dance is pivotal in the epistemological framework of African and African American culture.

The Dance Theater of African Americans represents the rich tapestry of African aesthetic retentions in the Americas. The adaptation of African dance forms to the new context of the Americas demonstrates the same ritualistic expressiveness that characterizes traditional dance in Southern

Africa. The characteristics and chief canons of the aesthetic are the same for continental Africans and African Americans. The intent and purpose of the dancing, transformation, education and catharsis, demonstrates the unbroken chain of cultural unity.

The End

Notes:

1. Janheinz Jahn. *Muntu: African Culture And The Western World*. New York: Grove Press, 1990 edition, p. 85.
2. Wade Nobles. Speech at 3rd Annual Cheikh Anta Diop Conference, Temple University, Gladfelter Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. , Oct. 11-12, 1990.
3. Jahn, *Muntu*, p. 83.
4. Ibid. , p. 85.

References:

Asante, Molefi Kete. *Kemet, Afrocentricity And Knowledge*. New Jersey: Africa World Press, 1990.

Asante, Molefi Kete & Kariamu Welsh. *African Culture: The Rhythms Of Unity*. New Jersey: Africa World Press edition, 1990.

Gayle, Addison, editor. *The Black Aesthetic*. Out of print.

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Rising Expectations: Perspective on Challenges to
Adult Education in Three Southern African Countries

Zimbabwe -- Botswana --- Malawi

Reflections arising from the
Seminar on Social and Economic
Change in Southern Africa, 1991

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Ira Jay Winn

Rising Expectations: Perspectives on Challenges to Adult
Education in Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi

A revolution of rising expectations swept over much of Southern Africa in the heady days of independence from the late 1960's to the 1980's. Today, in the early 90's, the pressures generated by explosive economic expansion and the rising expectations of a growingly educated population have collided with the realities of worldwide recession and oil shock, blockages associated with civil strife and readjustment in the Republic of South Africa and in Mozambique, environmental concerns, the recurring costs of school expansion, burgeoning population, and the unprecedented and widespread threat to life and national vitality from AIDS. In this brief overview of some challenges to adult education and educational planning in Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Malawi, I will raise questions about population and development strategy in the context of rising (and declining) expectations and hopes for continuing social and economic change.

One cannot visit the region without coming away with enormous admiration and respect for the massive efforts underway in expanding and reforming the primary and particularly the secondary education sectors. In Botswana, as perhaps the prime example, more than seventy percent of the national budget is allocated to education expansion and improvement. Zimbabwe, with some 300,000 school graduates per year has tripled the number of children in school in the last two decades. ⁽¹⁶⁾ The efforts at expanding opportunities in

middle education are particularly crucial, for the old colonial system remains a vestigial routing agent, which both overtly and covertly teaches children not to aspire to greater educational attainment and work status unless they are of the "proper" social-family position. Without real opportunity to go on into the kind and level of education that allows an individual a meaningful and productive place in society, the long run direction of primary education is lost. This reality has enormous curriculum implications, as the traditional school system is not meaningful or satisfying to people of simple and largely rural background; education power and potential fades even as awareness grows with respect to their lack of training and skills in a modernizing economy, and their attendant inability to overcome educational, social, and technological barriers to employment.

Thus, despite heavy investment in school expansion, enrollments in all three countries show a continuing pyramidal pattern long associated with developing nations with high birth rates: a fast-growing, relatively large and healthy enrollment in primary school; a significant drop-off by secondary level --particularly upper secondary; and a miniscule trickle of entrants to higher education. As example, Botswana enrolls more than eighty percent of school-age in primary school and propels three-fourths of them through junior secondary; but only twenty-five percent of these get through upper secondary, of which only about sixteen percent go on to the university. Educational planning now aims at taking all enrolled primary school students through junior secondary by the turn of the century, dependent, of course, on economic conditions.⁽¹¹⁾ In Zimbabwe, a similar enrollment pattern is found, while in Malawi, where the

matriculation pyramid narrows the most with each succeeding grade level,* only four percent of the appropriate age-group is found in secondary school. (5) But even given the relatively successful school expansion programs of Zimbabwe and Botswana, school leavers far outnumber new opportunities in the employment market. In Zimbabwe, by example, 300,000 young people per year enter a marketplace that offers only some 60,000 new jobs. (9 & 6)

Further complicating the education picture in these countries of Southern Africa is the colonial legacy of an extensive system of private schools. These have many virtues and enjoy the best of facilities and educational reputations. They offer the upwardly mobile entrant a generally solid traditional education. But this comes at some cost in social divisiveness. By and large, they are attended by a preponderant majority of white students and only a very small percentage of students of color. Recently, it was estimated that only three percent of Zimbabwean families can afford the visible and hidden tuition costs amounting to some \$8000 U.S. per year. (13) In Botswana, there is not so much a racial factor operating as a social class factor, but just as important is the gravitational effect of long established colonial tradition on curriculum and on teaching, which tends toward recitation and pedantry. (17)

All of the above factors are interactive and add up to a limited ability of the educational systems concerned to realistically serve the majority of the population. And even for much of the graduating minority, the systems concerned do not serve in ways that articulate well with the community and manpower needs of the three countries.

*(enrollment restriction is intensified by fixations on entrance exams)

Starting from a very low base at independence, it has been relatively easy to show percentage expansion in school enrollments. But each further percentage gain, and in the face of some of the highest birth rates in the world, becomes increasingly more difficult as the recurring costs of salaries and expanding physical plant and maintenance grow exponentially. Given the fact of tenuous school holding-power as reflected in the enrollment pyramids, coupled with rising consumer and schooling demand, it would be the better part of wisdom for educational and economic planners to look for a more viable system to engage and educate the general population. For even the richest of the three countries --Botswana-- is not food or energy independent, and is economically subject to the vagaries of world markets and reliant on its two monocultures of diamond mining and beef cattle for export. (15)

The reality of the expanding education-development burden has brought some critics of the traditional system of schooling to conclude that education in the developing countries really serves as "a narrowing bridge across a widening social gap," and that alternatives must be found to systems that grew out of fairly irrelevant models presented and represented by the much richer and more developed industrial nations. (4) Indeed, these countries of Southern Africa have had to import large numbers of expatriates to staff their schools and universities and to service their expanding technological-industrial sectors. To some degree, the dependence on foreign personnel, however temporary, has given rise to criticism over claimed overt and subtle interference in formulating economic policy and development planning. (14) However, this is a subject over which there is much controversy. (6)

While laudable as an idealistic effort, the present tack of expanding the traditional system of education, congruent with attempts to reform training, teaching, and curriculum, amounts to almost a Sisyphean labor: a country must run faster each year just to stay even, and the costly effort does not yield a significantly expanded harvest of opportunities; yet, one continues with the task as though transfixed by the gods. (20)

A different approach to educational planning and sector expansion needs to be considered. One path worth exploration would place major emphasis on adult education coupled with distance-education--with full use of mass media and interactive radio and television to energize community action and development. The system of primary education would largely be left intact, but a much smaller national investment would be directed mainly to reforming curriculum and teaching in existing secondary schools, while not expanding the number of those schools. Instead, the new goal of post-primary education would be building community consciousness and grass-roots involvement in the nation-building process. Heavy investment would be directed to developing a system of community-oriented centers and schools with community outreach. The focus of the curriculum would be on key areas of public health, agriculture, social services, technical training, and wide public discourse through civic education and humanistic studies. A brief outline review of some critical problems of the region reveals the productive potential of this alternative approach to education and development:

The AIDS problem is the most serious, immediate crisis facing the entire southern Africa region. While public health data is not exact, over a million people are expected to die by the year 2000

as a result of the disease, and HIV infection rates (fifty percent or more in one country) are staggering by any measure. This means not only a calamitous public health problem, but an acute economic threat in the form of a potential loss of a very scarce resource--the highly educated professionals and technical staff essential to development. Late in starting, public and school AIDS education advisories are by now common. However, there is major concern about the effectiveness of expository approaches to effecting behavioral change, particularly in societies accustomed to multiple partnerships, high rates of teen-age pregnancy, and strong patterns of male dominance.⁽²⁾ Of course, such problems are found in varying degrees in both the developed and the developing world.

A widening culture of poverty is evident in the urban centers, which are attracting a large in-migration of people from the rural areas. Migrants look more to the cities today, seeking work and excitement and fleeing from the marginal agriculture of the overworked hinterlands, areas both overpopulated and lacking in cultural and modern economic and energy-related amenities. (7) This movement of people intensifies the problems of urban unemployment, lack of social services and decent housing. In Harare, for example, more than 300,000 people are on a waiting list for very limited new houses that often end up being shared by several families. In poorer areas throughout the three countries and especially in the cities, housing stock is commonly dilapidated. It is critically important to develop viable rural centers and towns and to reform agriculture, both for reasons of national vitality and to reduce the potentially explosive stress in the cities. This implies strong commitment to coordinated urban and regional planning.

Agriculture in the three countries is drawn to over-emphasis on cash-cropping and monocultures, with their inevitable dependencies ~~on external supplies and high technology~~; and often unpredictable world markets; this kind of intensive agriculture bears serious indirect and long-run negative costs, both ecological and in the tendency to drive out the small farmer. Despite long traditions in food production, only Zimbabwe among the countries visited is food self-sufficient today; even there, the legacy of colonial land maldistribution (white farmers have the vast majority of the fertile lands) poses serious agricultural, racial, and community development problems. (8) Planners in the three nations must take significant steps toward keeping agriculture diversified and geared to community vitality and national sustenance. Much greater grassroots and community input is needed as regards the direction of national development and related questions of urban/rural balance.

Environmental concerns vary in intensity in the three countries, but there are common threads woven by the strains of population explosion and the changes imposed by a growingly technological society. Among the most important problems needing a fine focus of attention are issues of groundwater contamination and depletion, related industrial demands for water allocation, pesticide pollution as a function of both intensive agriculture and insect control, deforestation because of needs for fuel, housing, and agricultural land, overgrazing, wildlife preservation and game park management, urban sprawl, and, in rural areas particularly, food and water sanitation and disease vector control. (1) All these environmental issues are interwoven with and reflective of issues of economic

and social change previously noted, and also of the overall problem of how best to structure and orient the educational system.

Conclusions

In each of the problems and examples cited, there is evident a need for intensive community discussion and strong community-based efforts. Top-down planning simply will not effect the needed changes; nor will an education based largely on lectures, recitations, and admonitions, which cannot substitute for critical appraisal and training in problem orientation. (11 & 20) In short, the traditional, colonial school is no answer to the needs of a rapidly changing and modern society. Given the high birth rates in the region and the increasing demands for full secondary and higher education, the efforts at expansion of the traditional school plant become an exercise in futility; even in the long run, fifty percent of young people will not be gaining the benefits of an upper secondary school in any of these developing countries. The turn toward vocational training is also a blind alley in a fast-changing economy; evidence from a variety of countries shows that relatively few so trained end up current with employment market needs and expertise, or working in jobs related to their training. (10) Thus the suggestion for a change in emphasis in education direction and investment, shifting the commitment from one based largely on expanding traditional facilities for children to one geared to reaching the total public --with the principal goal of community development.

In such a reformed system, adult education would have an equal weight with the education of children. Age would not be the primary consideration, as in any case the traditional system does not serve

either the majority of the adult or the post primary-age youngsters. The goal of educational planning and the national development objective now sets its primary focus on the building and sustenance of community consciousness and citizen involvement in both the education and nation-building process. The flow of planning in good part is reversed so that those affected by policy decisions would have a larger voice in making them. New schools would still be needed, but these would reach far beyond the boundaries of a traditional approach to curriculum and institutional care for younger people. (19 & 20)

A vastly expanded use of the mass media -- newspaper and interactive radio-tv and distance education-- would educate very large target audiences, youth and adult, in practical skills such as preventative health care, agriculture, and work-orientation, with spin-off to apprenticeships in public service and industry. Equally well, it would serve the needs for intellectual and cultural development and the widening of horizons. Here we can look to successful programs and experiments, such as distance and theatre education in Indonesia, and Canada's experience with radio listening groups that drew rural people into an interactive process of critical examination of their lives and the policies and institutions of their society and nation. (12 & 3)

Fortunately, the nations of southern Africa have certain long traditions of bargaining and dialogue, even though sometimes traditionally paternalistic councils such as by hereditary title and the power of headmen and chiefs. (7 & 18) But tradition always dictated some forms of shared decision-making, governance after long discussion and consensus-building. Perhaps this process is best exemplified in Botswana, where the customary court or "kgotla"

is evolving as a forum for political disputation and community discussion (freedom squares) of a highly varied range of issues and personal-social concerns. On a trans-national basis, the dialogue is expanded in the efforts of SADCC to bring about economic integration of the region. (15)

Thus, utilizing the tradition of dialogue and consensus-building as a springboard, the alternative strategy of outreach via community and development-oriented education appears as the most viable option. Certainly it would reduce and circumvent the enrollment dilemma, lessen or remove much of the snobbery element from the schools, and develop much fuller citizen involvement in national as well as community development concerns. Also, this modern approach to education would channel television in the most positive of directions, rather than allowing it to become the purveyor of standards and consumer taste imported from abroad; interactive radio-tv, tied to community listening groups and community-oriented schools, would act as a safety valve, reducing the tremendous tensions and social breakdowns already evident and still fast-building in the three countries as a result of unrealistic rising expectations and induced consumer demand in times of vast technological change and economic uncertainty and turbulence. (7)

Such a system of national dialogue and revitalization certainly would bring new life and thought to rural areas, where the vast majority of the populations work and live, even as the urban centers would be invigorated by the dynamics of an expanded and truly free marketplace of ideas.

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